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For the National Era.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN:
OR,
LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY MRS. H. B. STOWE.

CHAPTER XVIII.—*Continued.*

"I used sometimes to hear my mother reasoning oases with him—endeavoring to excite his sympathies. He would listen to the most pathetic appeals with the most discouraging politeness and equanimity. 'It all resolves itself into this,' he would say; 'must I part with Stubbs, or keep him?' Stubbs is the soul of punctuality, honesty, and efficiency—a thorough business hand, and so humane as the general run. We can't have perfection; and if I keep him, I must sustain his administration as a *whole*, even if there are now and then things that are exceptionable. All government includes some necessary hardness. General rules will bear hard on whomever they are first laid; this last maxim, my father seemed to consider a settler in most alleged cases of cruelty. After he had said *that*, he commonly drew up his feet on the sofa, like a man that has disposed of a business, and betook himself to a nap, or the newspaper, as the case might be.

"The fact is, my father showed the exact sort of talent for a statesman. He could have divided Poland as easy as an orange, or fixed on Ireland as quietly and systematically as any man living. At last my mother gave up in despair. I never will be known, till the last accounts, what noble and sensitive natures like hers have felt—cast utterly helpless into what seems to them an abyss of injustice and cruelty, and which seems so to nobody about them. It has been an age of long sorrow of such natures, in such a hell-begotten sort of world as ours. What remained for her, but to train her children in her own views and sentiments. Well, after all, you may almost trust children will grow up substantially what they *are* by nature, and only that. From the cradle, Alfred was an aristocrat: and as he grew up, instinctively, all the associations and all the surroundings were in that line, and all mother's exhortations went to the winds. As to me, they sunk deep into me. She never contradicted, in form, anything Alfred said, but her whole manner seemed to differ from him; she impressed, burnt into my very soul, with all the force of her deep, earnest nature, an idea of the dignity and worth of the meanest human soul. I have looked in her face with solemn awe, when she would point up to the stars in the evening, and say to me, 'See there, Augusta! the poorest, meanest, soul on our place will be living as long as all these stars are gone forever—will live as long as God lives!'

"She had some fine old paintings; one in particular, of Jesus healing a blind man. They were very fine, and used to impress me strongly. 'See there, Augusta,' she would say. 'the blind man was a beggar, poor and loathsome; therefore he would not look him *after all?* He called him to him, and put *his hands on him!* Remember this, my boy.' If I had lived to grow up under her care, she might have stimulated me to I know not what of active benevolence. I might have been a saint, reformer, martyr—but alas! alas! I went from her when I was only thirteen, and I never saw her again!"

St. Clare leaned his head on his hands, and did not speak for some minutes. After a while he looked up, and went on.

"What poor mean trash this whole business of human virtue is! It is a matter for the most part of latitude and longitude, and geographical position, acting with natural temperament! The greater part is nothing but an accident! Here is Alfred, for example, settles in Vermont, in a town where all are in the same mould and equal; becomes a regular church member and deacon, and in due time joins an Abolition society, and thinks us all the better than heathens. Yet he is, for all the world, in constitution and habit, a duplicate of my father. I can see it looking out in fifty different ways, just that same strong, overbearing, dominant spirit. You know what it is, and how it will show itself in some of the folks in your village that Squire Sinclair does not feel above them. The fact is, though he has fallen on democratic times, and embraced a democratic religion, he is to the last an aristocrat, as much as my father, who ruled over five or six hundred slaves."

Miss Ophelia felt rather disposed to cavil at this picture, and was busily putting down her knitting to begin, but St. Clare stopped her.

"Now, I know every word you are going to say. I do not say they *were* alike, in fact. One fell into a condition where everything acted against the natural tendency, and the other where everything acted for it; and so one turned out a pretty willful, stout, overbearing old democrat, and the other a gentle, sensitive despot. If both had owned plantations in Louisiana, they would have been as like as two old ballots cast in the same mould."

"What an undutiful boy you are!" said Miss Ophelia.

"I don't mean them any disrespect," said St. Clare. "You know reverence is not my forte. But to go back to what I was saying."

"When father died, he left the whole property to us twin boys, to be divided as we should agree. Now there does not breathe on God's earth a more generous, more honorable man than Alfred, in all that concerns his equals; and we got on admirably with this property question, without a single unbrotherly word or feeling. We undertook to work the estate together, and Alfred, whose outward life and sensibilities had double the strength of mine, became an enthusiastic planter, and a wonderfully successful one.

"But two years' trial satisfied me that I could not be a partner in that matter. To have a great gang of seven hundred, whom I could not know personally, or feel any individual interest in, bought and driven, housed, fed, worked like so many horned cattle, strained up to military precision—the question of how little of life's enjoyment or enjoyments would keep them in working order being a constantly recurring problem—the *necessity* of drivers and overseers—the ever necessary whip, first, last, and only argument—the whole thing was insufferably disgusting and loathsome to me; and when I thought of my mother's estimate of one poor human soul, it became even frightful!

"It's all nonsense to talk to me about slaves *enjoying* all this! To think they I have no conscience with the unutterable trash that some of your patronizing Northerners have made up, as in their zeal to apologize for our sins. We all know better. Tell me that any man living wants to work all his days, from day dawn till dark, under the constant eye of a master, without the power of putting forth one irresponsible word, on the same dreary, monotonous, unchanging toil, and all for two pairs of pantaloons and a pair of shoes a year, with enough food and shelter to keep him in working order. Any man who thinks that human beings can, as a general thing, be made about as comfortable that way as any other, I wish he might try it. I'd buy the dog, and work him with a clear conscience!"

"I always have supposed," said Miss Ophelia, "that you, all of you, approved of these things, and thought them *right*—according to Scripture."

"Humbug! We are not quite reduced to that yet. Alfred, who is as determined a despot as ever walked, does not pretend to this kind of defence—no, he stands high and haughty on that good old respectable ground, *the right of the strongest;* and he says, and I think quite sensibly, that the American planter is "only doing in another form what the English aristocracy and capitalists are doing by the lower classes: that is, I take it, *appropriating* them, body and bone, soul and spirit, to their use and convenience. He defends both—and I think, at least, *consistently*. He says that they can be no high civilization without enslavement of the masses, either nominal or real. There must he says, be a lower class, given up to physical toil and brutal fare, to answer numbers and a higher one thereby acquires leisure and wealth for a more expanded intelligence and improvement, and becomes the directing soul of the lower. So he defends his system, as I said, he is born an aristocrat—so I don't believe, because I was born a democrat."

"How in the world can the two things be compared?" said Miss Ophelia. "The English laborer is not sold, traded, parted from his family, whipped."

"He is as much at the will of his employer as if he were sold to him. The slaveholder can whip his refractory slave to death—the capitalist can starve him to death. As to family security, it is hard to say which is the worst—to have one's children sold or see them starve to death at home."

"But it's no kind of apology for slavery, to prove that it isn't worse than some other bad thing."

"I didn't give it for one—nay, I'll say, besides, that ours is the more bold and palpable infringement of human rights, actually buying a man up like a horse—looking at his teeth, cracking his joints, and trying his paces, and then paying down for him—having speculators, breeders, traders, and brokers in human bodies and souls, sets the thing before the eyes of the civilized world in a more tangible form, though the thing done be, after all, in its nature, the same; that is, appropriating one set of human beings to the use and improvement of another, without regard to their own."

"I never thought of the matter in this light," said Miss Ophelia.

"Well, I've travelled in England some, and I've looked over a good many documents as to the state of their lower classes, and I really think there is no denying Alfred, when he says that his slaves are better off than a large class of the population of England. You see you must not infer from what I have told you that Alfred is what is called a hard master, for he isn't. He is despotic, and unmerciful to insubordination (he would have a fellow cut down with as little remorse as he would shoot a bird, if he opposed him. But, in general, he takes a sort of pride in having his slaves comfortably fed and accommodated.

"When I was with him, I insisted that he should do something for their instruction; and to please me, he did get a chaplain, and used to have them catechised Sunday; tho' I believe, in his heart, that he thought the whole a sham as much good as to set a chaplain over his dogs and horses. And the fact is, that a mind stupefied and annihilated by every bad influence from the hour of birth, spending the whole of every week day in unreflecting toil, cannot be done much with by a few hours on Sunday. The teachers of Sunday schools among the manufacturers in England, and of the blacks among plantation hands in our country, could perhaps testify to the same result, *there and here*. Yet some striking exceptions there are among us, from the fact that the negro is naturally more impressible to religious sentiment than the white."

"Well," said Miss Ophelia, "how came you to give up your plantation life?"

"Well, we lived on together some time, till Alfred saw plainly that I was no planter. He thought it absurd, after he had reformed and altered and improved everywhere to suit my notions, that I still remained unsatisfied. The fact was, it was, after all, the THING that I hated—the using these men and women, the perpetuation of all this ignorance, brutality, and vice, just to make money for me.

Besides, I was always interfering in the details. Being myself one of the laziest of mortals, I had altogether too much fellow feeling for the lazy; and whenever things got into the stasis at the bottom of their cotton baskets to make them weigh heavier, or filled their sacks with dirt, with cotton at the top, it seemed so exactly like what I should do myself, if I only couldn't and wouldn't have them flogged for it. Well, of course there was an end of plantation discipline, and Alf and I came to about the same point that I still remained dissatisfied. The fact was, it was, after all, the THING that I hated—the using these men and women, the perpetuation of all this ignorance, brutality, and vice, just to make money for me.

"But why didn't you free your slaves?"

"Well, I wasn't up to that. To hold them as tools for money-making, I could not—and to them to help spend money, you know didn't look quite so ugly to me. Some of them were old house servants, to whom I was much attached—and the younger ones were children of the old. All were well satisfied to be as they were." He paused, and walked reflectively up and down the room!

"There, I will end St. Clare, "a time in my life when I had plans and hopes of doing something in this world, more than to float and drift. I had vague, indistinct yearnings to be a sort of human providence, as many a man has been from his youth up, in some way or other, instead of being actor and regenerator in society. I became a piece of drift wood, and have been floating and eddying about ever since. Alfred sometimes reproaches me with it, and he has the better of me I grant—for he really does something—his life is a logical result of his opinions, and mine is a contemptible non sequitur.

"My dear cousin, can you be satisfied with such a way of spending your probation?"

"Satisfied! Was I not just telling you I despised it? But, then, to come back to this point, you were on this horrible business. I don't think my feelings about slavery are peculiar. I find many men who, in their hearts, think of it just as I do. The land groans under it; and bad as it is for the slave, it is worse, if anything, for the master. It takes no spectacles to see that a great class of vicious, improvident, degraded people among us are an evil to us as well as to themselves. The capitalist and aristocrat of England cannot feel that as we do, because they do not mingle with the class they degrade as we do. They are in our houses; they are the companions of our children, and they form their minds faster than we can, for there are a race that children always will cling to and assimilate with. If Eva, now, was not more angel than ordinary, she would be ruined. We might as well allow the small-pox to run among them, and think our children would not take it, as to let them be uninstructed and vicious, and think our children will not be affected by that. Yet our laws positively and utterly forbid any efficient, general educational system, and they do it wisely, too; for just begin and thoroughly educate one generation, and the whole thing would be blown sky high. If we did not give them liberty, they would take it."

"And what do you think will be the end of this?" said Miss Ophelia.

"I don't know. One thing is certain, that there is a mustering among the masses, the world over; and there is a *dies ira* coming on, sooner or later. The same thing is working in Europe, in England, and in this country. My mother used to tell me of a millennium that was coming, when Christ should reign, and all men should be free and happy. And she taught me, when I was a child, to pray for it. I forgotten come." Sometimes I think all this sighing and groaning and stirring among the dry bones foretells what she used to tell me was coming. But who may abide the day of His appearing?"

"Augustine, sometimes I think you are not far from the kingdom," said Miss Ophelia, laying down her knitting, and looking anxiously at her cousin.

"Thank you for your good opinion; but it's up and down with me—up to heaven's gate in theory, down in earth's dust in practice. But there's the bell for bell—so let's go—and don't say, now, I haven't had one downright serious talk, for once in my life."

At table, Marie alluded to the incident of Prue. "I suppose you'll think, cousin," she said, "that we are all barbarians."

"I think that's a barbarous thing," said Miss Ophelia, "but I don't think you are all barbarians."

"Well, now," said Marie, "I know it's impossible to get along with some of these creatures. They are so bad they ought not to live. I don't feel a particle of sympathy for such cases. If they'd only behave themselves, it would not happen."

"But, mamma," said Eva, "the poor creature was unhappy; that's the reason she drank."

"Oh, fiddlestick! as if that were any excuse! I'm unhappy very often. I presume," she said, pensively, "that I've had greater trials than Prue; but I don't get drunk because they come to me. There's some of them that you cannot break in by any kind of severity. I remember father had a man that was so lazy he would lie down in the row when at work, and lie round in the swamps, stealing and doing all sorts of horrid things. That man was caught and whipped time and again, and it never did him a bit of good. At one time he crawled off, though, he couldn't but just go, and died in the swamp. There was no sort of reason for it, for father's hands were always treated kindly."

"I suppose," said St. Clare, in one, "he couldn't help drinking."

"Why, cousin, you're quite eloquent on the state of their lower classes, and I really think there is no denying Alfred, when he says that his slaves are better off than a large class of the population of England. You see you must not infer from what I have told you that Alfred is what is called a hard master, for he isn't. He is despotic, and unmerciful to insubordination (he would have a fellow cut down with as little remorse as he would shoot a bird, if he opposed him. But, in general, he takes a sort of pride in having his slaves comfortably fed and accommodated.

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[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MY LIFE IS LIKE THE SUMMER ROSE.

BY RICHARD HENRY WILDE.

My life is like the summer rose,
That opens to the morning sky,
But ere the shades of evening close
Is scattered on the ground—to die!
Yet on the rose's humble bed
The sweetest dews of night are shed,
As if he sigh to watch its woe—
But none shall weep a tear for me!

My life is like the autumn leaf.
That trembles in the moon's pale ray.
Its hold is frail—its date is brief—
Restless, and soon to pass away.
Yet, ere that leaf shall fall and fade,
The parent tree will mourn its shade,
The winds bewail it in their flight,
But none shall breathe a sigh for me!

My life is like the prints which feet
Have left on Tampa's desert strand;
Soon as the rising tide shall beat,
All trace will vanish from the sand;
Yet, as if grieving to efface
All vestige of the human race,
On that lone shore loud moans the sea—
But none, alas! shall mourn for me.

From Sartain's Magazine for September.

INDIAN CUSTOMS

It will be remembered that some time since Colonel Lea and Governor Ramsay were sent out West by the Government to conclude a sea treaty with the Sioux Indians. They were accompanied by Peter Gui de St. Paul's *Voyageur*, who has furnished the public with several highly interesting sketches, written on the treaty ground at Traverse Des Sioux, between 5th and 12th of July. Some of them are scarcely less graphic and picturesque than the best sketches by Cooper. Here is a description of an Indian wedding:

INDIAN WEDDING.

About noon the marriage of David Barribault with Nancy Winona McClure took place in the marquee of the Commissioners, in the presence of all the party in the camp, and several Indians. The bridegroom is a Canadian. The bridegroom is a large, handsome man, about thirty years old, and the bride a fresh young girl of fourteen, large of her age, educated in mission school at Lac-qui-Parle, and almost wholly unacquainted with the society of the whites. She came into the marquee trembling like a young fawn—blushing like the opening of the rose, and looking like the sun-shine.

The marriage ceremony, in the Episcopal form, was performed by Alexis Bailly, Esq., a justice of the peace in and for this county, after which the company partook of an abundance of lemonade, which sparkled and foamed deliciously, as if it had been champagne uncorked in any of the brown-front palaces of New York. After the ceremony all went to dine together; and after dinner, toasts and speeches appropriate to the occasion flowed freely.

Toasts were then drank to Colonel Lea, of the Indian Department, and Governor Ramsay, both of whom made brief speeches.

After dinner there was a virgin feast of the young Dakota girls, nineteen in number, and fifteen young men. Before sitting down to the feast, consisting of tea and fried cakes, each of the party advanced and touched a red stone which was placed in their midst, this being the test oath of virginity.

A young man jumped into the circle and seized one of the girls, and dragged her out without any ceremony. This was equivalent to accusing her of immodesty, and having taken a false oath. It was the general belief in the camp, however, that the young man's accusation was false, and that he attempted to fasten this disgrace upon her in revenge of having given him the mitten.

The Indians have a great fear of thunder, and the region of the treaty ground is described by the writer as the "pivot of tempests." Rains and storms are frequent and terrific. The Indians in the camp were very much excited on the subject, and finally they resolved to take the weather in hand. They followed the example of white men, who, in all emergencies, call a meeting and make or hear speeches. The following admirable speech was made by Walking Thunder, and indicates the antidote which he proposed for their unnatural grievances:

SPEECH OF WALKING THUNDER.

This high water is unusual. The Great Spirit does not smile. He growls at us. Something does not suit him. Our corn fields, where are they? Our young men cannot hunt. The powder in our rifles is wet. It will not burn. We kill no game—nothing. Our Great Father gives us a little beef and a little corn since we came to his treaty. But we are poor, very poor. Our ribs may be counted like the poles of a lodge frame through the skin. Corn will not grow without sunshine, and if we have nothing to eat we must starve. Our horses are thin. We thought they could run some, but even Shasta Wasta's (Mr. Taylor's) horse can outrun our fastest buffalo nag. Our dogs are lean, very lean. They are too poor to bark. They howl a little sometimes, but very feebly. We are glad our Father came up here with a little corn and a little beef, and, it may be, a few slices of pork, for us to eat. We were very hungry, and we are yet. The red man is always hungry. The white young men are fat. They look very sleek and greasy. The reason is, that the Great Spirit gives them more food. We do not like so much rain; it is more than there is any use of. [Ho! ho!] Our tents are soaked with water. It pains us to have our women loaded down with the baggage when we travel. We cannot bear it. We hope the steamboat above this flood up the river when they came. The boats brought up a little corn and a little beef, and, it may be, a slice of pork. They are welcome. [Ho! ho!]

Our lodges are peaked; our Great Father's tents are not peaked. The Great Spirit rains on both. There is too much thunder and rain and sharp lightning. We are afraid. We are less thunder. They say the Great Thunder Bird has dashed his wing upon the head of the Blue Earth river, and broken open a fountain, out of which the water comes. [Ho! ho!] I expected to no in a dream that we ought to have a *round dance* this afternoon. [Ho! ho!] It may save us much thunder, lightning, and rain. He is a great Father who wants to live land, we will talk to him about it at a proper time. Our Great Father has several cattle left yet. There's no hurrah. Beef is good for the red man. Hurrah-cattle [ho! ho!] is not very. Our Great Father's children think so much of cookoost, why do they not eat it instead of beef? Probably because, like whiskey, they think beef is not whiskey, either. [Ho! ho!] I think I will attend the round dance this afternoon, and try to allay the storm and appease the Evil Spirit. The wing of the Thunder Bird must be broken. [Ho! ho! ho!]

SALOMON DE CAUS IN THE PARIS BEDLAM.

A very effective wood engraving of this subject, presented to the readers of the Magazine this month, is from an original picture by Jacques Lecurieux. This picture, hung up in the Louvre in 1845, and was the subject of general admiration as a work of art. During the exhibition it became an object of universal attention, for the discovery of history it personifies of that invention or discovery which has since made steam so useful an agent in the economy of the civilized world.

From private memoirs of the French Court, we find that in 1641 an English nobleman, Edward Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, being in Paris, was accompanied by the celebrated Salomon de Caus, who had invented the power of steeping Giant Truth, but which, on his awaking, are parted and cast away like shrods of hope.

THE TRUE COURSE.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: The scene that have recently transpired under the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, in the arrest of the slave Daniel at Buffalo, and the sitting of Mr. Gorsuch in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, are impressive admonitions as to the duty of those who are opposed to this most infamous of all enactments. We have at the present time upon the statute books of the United States a law which affords greater facilities for the reclaiming of human beings as chattels, than any other law, either statute or common, affords for reclaiming any other species of property. Such a law encourages every sympathy and feeling of humanity, and gives an additional bonus to the judgment consigning one of God's creatures to bondage: a law by which the Marquis of Worcester, and his wife, and thousands of miles away from the party most interested—leaving nothing to be done where the arrest is made but to establish the identity of the person claimed—may send a bonded will. Establish that, and the fiat goes forth—the captive is a bondsman.

Under such circumstances, the duty of the opponents of this law becomes a question of paramount importance. Resistance by physical force to so heinous a law, as recommended by some, might be a justifiable measure were our Government a despotism, as the condition of affairs could scarcely be made worse, and might be very much bettered. But, happily, such is not the fact. With us, all power emanates from the people, and it is therefore submitted that the only legitimate resistance is the action of a bad law, rather than produce a state of anarchy and civil war by resistance thereto with physical force—especially, as he who would resist with violence the due duty of a citizen under the law will exert a powerful influence, occupying, as it does geographically, a central position in the nation, and being the oldest anti-slavery paper in America.

Respectfully yours, R.

INTERESTING RELIC.

Not long since, Postmaster General Hall undertook an examination of the contents of the dead-letter office for years to come, had not the Postmaster General fortunately undertaken the crusade we speak of.

What gives a deep interest to this matter-of fact and prosaic document is the subsequent history of the individuals whose names it contains. The person at whose request it was drawn is dead; the man that drew it, and that on which it was drawn, are among the things that were; the members of the house to whose order it was drawn are also dead; and the gentleman who forwarded it, and who kindly left it for our inspection, is the only one of all the parties interested in the little document on whom no changes have been wrought, save the lapse of years, which has left its mark on us all.

No doubt many documents, such as that we have noticed, and which would often prove of signal importance if restored to their owners, still moulder in the dead-letter office. We believe the regulations of that office tend to the careful preservation of all records under its care, and to their return, whether called for or not, to the proper persons, within a specified time. We think the enactments such as that we

From the Tuscaloosa Monitor of September 25.

HUMORS OF ELECTIONEERING.

We Give it up.—We have in our time met with some good electioneerers. In this our good old county of Tuscaloosa we have some that are hard to beat. We have seen some of them walk into a large crowd, and in less than ten minutes make hands with every man present, inquire affastionately into the state of his own health and that of each member of his family, and express the deepest sympathy on account of the long dry spell" which was injuring his crop. Nor was that all; for, while the candidate was thus sympathizing with one of the sovereigns on account of his misfortune, he would, almost in the same breath, succeed in convincing another "constituent" that upon *his* election depended the question whether or not a plank road should be made to pass close by the said constituent's door, and whether or not the valueless sixteenth section in that township should be enriched by an equalization of the school fund. We have often wondered how on earth the people of the county were able to decide who to vote for, when *all* the candidates for each clever fellows, and all make such fine promises.

Some years ago, before the State of Palmetto had determined to *secede*, we had occasion to pay a visit to the pleasant village of Cornelian. The weather being quite warm, we concluded to stop, during the heat of the day, at the house of an old Florida fellow-soldier whom we had not seen for many years. He had retired upon his laurels and, having got married, had, we understood, been religiously fulfilling one of the most important of the scriptural injunctions. There we found a large family of healthy, lively fellows, almost in a state of nudity, were playing about the yard, and we had not been long under the roof of our hospitable friend before he caught sight of "number one" as the largest, and apparently the oldest, of the group. The little fellow came forward very reluctantly, and as he was tightly held by the collar of his only garment, his whole body—with the exception—continual procession, keeping eternal music with stentorian voices through iron valves, and charming the Echo with the constant chime of young bells.

And poor imprisoned Salomon de Caus! Does not his memory share in the glory of every invention to which the power of steam is applied? Is not his name linked with that of Fulton and Stevens—the two great inventors of the age—the rival navies, regardless of wind or tide, between Dover and Calais—the floating palaces on our own broad lakes and rivers—the railway on the mountain top—the riehly-freighted car, beside the miner, far down within earth's mineral caves—had he foretold but these, then might they have called him "mad man!"

And even now, in this middle of the nineteenth century, there may be in our very midst men who, like De Caus, are mad and disregard for the bright offerings they bring to the shrine of science. Galileo, Columbus, and De Caus, were each obliged to wear those chains which the world deems the most galling—the bonds of the sleeping giant Truth, but which, on his awaking, are parted and cast away like shrods of hope.

THE TRUE COURSE.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: The scene that have recently transpired under the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, in the arrest of the slave Daniel at Buffalo, and the sitting of Mr. Gorsuch in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, are impressive admonitions as to the duty of those who are opposed to this most infamous of all enactments. We have at the present time upon the statute books of the United States a law which affords greater facilities for the reclaiming of human beings as chattels, than any other law, either statute or common, affords for reclaiming any other species of property. Such a law encourages every sympathy and feeling of humanity, and gives an additional bonus to the judgment consigning one of God's creatures to bondage: a law by which the Marquis of Worcester, and his wife, and thousands of miles away from the party most interested—leaving nothing to be done where the arrest is made but to establish the identity of the person claimed—may send a bonded will. Establish that, and the fiat goes forth—the captive is a bondsman.

Under such circumstances, the duty of the opponents of this law becomes a question of paramount importance. Resistance by physical force to so heinous a law, as recommended by some, might be a justifiable measure were our Government a despotism, as the condition of affairs could scarcely be made worse, and might be very much bettered. But, happily, such is not the fact. With us, all power emanates from the people, and it is therefore submitted that the only legitimate resistance is the action of a bad law, rather than produce a state of anarchy and civil war by resistance thereto with physical force—especially, as he who would resist with violence the due duty of a citizen under the law will exert a powerful influence, occupying, as it does geographically, a central position in the nation, and being the oldest anti-slavery paper in America.

Respectfully yours, R.

INTERESTING RELIC.

Not long since, Postmaster General Hall undertook an examination of the contents of the dead-letter office for years to come, had not the Postmaster General fortunately undertaken the crusade we speak of.

What gives a deep interest to this matter-of fact and prosaic document is the subsequent history of the individuals whose names it contains. The person at whose request it was drawn is dead; the man that drew it, and that on which it was drawn, are among the things that were; the members of the house to whose order it was drawn are also dead; and the gentleman who forwarded it, and who kindly left it for our inspection, is the only one of all the parties interested in the little document on whom no changes have been wrought, save the lapse of years, which has left its mark on us all.

No doubt many documents, such as that we have noticed, and which would often prove of signal importance if restored to their owners, still moulder in the dead-letter office. We believe the regulations of that office tend to the careful preservation of all records under its care, and to their return, whether called for or not, to the proper persons, within a specified time. We think the enactments such as that we

Just Published.

Fifty Years Among the Ruins.

A Pictorial History of Remarkable, Celebrated, and Interesting Ruins, and Extinct Cities of the World. With numerous Illustrations. By John Frost, LL. D. Author of "Pictorial History of the United States," "Pictorial History of Mexico and the Mexican War," "Pictorial History of the World," "Pictorial History of England," "Pictorial History of Ireland," "Pictorial History of Scotland," "Pictorial Natural History," "Pictorial Book of Anecdote," "Pictorial Book of Poetry," "Pictorial Book of the Sea," "Pictorial Book of the Heavens," "Pictorial Book of the Earth," "Pictorial Book of Art," "Pictorial Book of Science," "Pictorial Book of Biography," "Pictorial Book of Mythology," "Pictorial Book of Ancient History," "Pictorial Book of Modern History," "Pictorial Book of Geography," "Pictorial Book of Nations," "Pictorial Book of Commerce," "Pictorial Book of Manufactures," "Pictorial Book of Agriculture," "Pictorial Book of Mechanics," "Pictorial Book of Inventions," "Pictorial Book of Discoveries," "Pictorial Book of Wonders," "Pictorial Book of Curiosities," "Pictorial Book of Literature," "Pictorial Book of Education," "Pictorial Book of Religion," "Pictorial Book of Morals," "Pictorial Book of Manners," "Pictorial Book of Customs," "Pictorial Book of Fashions," "Pictorial Book of Amusements," "Pictorial Book of Sports," "Pictorial Book of Games," "Pictorial Book of Pastimes," "Pictorial Book of Recreations," "Pictorial Book of Entertainments," "Pictorial Book of Diversions," "Pictorial Book of Pleasures," "Pictorial Book of Delights," "Pictorial Book of Joys," "Pictorial Book of Sorrows," "Pictorial Book of Griefs," "Pictorial Book of Misfortunes," "Pictorial Book of Calamities," "Pictorial Book of Disasters," "Pictorial Book of Accidents," "Pictorial Book of Casualties," "Pictorial Book of Chances," "Pictorial Book of Fortunes

divide equally with him, and make these two offers—I'll take the salary, and he may have the honor; or he may have the honor, and I'll take the salary.

In the way of honors, I have received enough to satisfy me for life. I went to Mexico, eat pork and beans, slept in the rain and mud, and swallowed everything except live Mexicans. If ordered to "go," I went; "charge," I charged; "break for the chaparral," you better believe I beat a quarter nag in doing *my* duty.

My competitor, Swan, is a bird of golden plumage, who has been swimming for the last four years in the Auditor's pond, at $5,000 a year. I am for rotation. I want to rotate him out, and to rotate myself in. There's plenty of room for him to swim outside of that pond; therefore *pop* in your votes for me; I'll *pop* him out, and *pop* myself in.

I am for a division of labor. Swan says he has to work all the time, with his nose down to the public grindstone. Four years must have ground it to a *pint*. Poor fellow, the public ought not to insist on having the handle of his mug ground *clean off*. I have a large, full-grown, and well-blown nose, red as a beet and tough as sole leather. I rush to the post of duty. I offer it up as a sacrifice. I clap it on the grindstone. Fellow-citizens, grind away—grind till I *holler enuff*, and that will be some time first, for I'll hang like grim death to a dead African.

Time's most out. Well, I like to forgot to tell you my name. It's Daniel—for short, Dan. Not a handsome name, for my parents were poor people, who lived where the quality appropriated all the nice names; therefore they had to take what was left and divide around among us; but it's as handsome as I am—R. Russell. Remember, every one of you, that it's not Swan.

I am sure to be elected; so, one and all, great and small, short and tall, when you come down to Jackson, after the election, stop at the Auditor's office; the latch-string always hangs out; enter without knocking; take off your things, and make yourself at home.

[Dan crawfished out of the stand, bobbing his head like a tip-up, amid the cheers for "Dan Russell" and Young "Davy Crockett."]

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1851.

THE REIGN OF BLOOD.

The *Richmond* (Va.) *Dispatch*, speaking of the persons indicted for treason at Christiana and Syracuse, says—

"We hope the extreme penalty of the law, so apparent that it cannot be mistaken, will be put in force against the traitors, provided their guilt can be established. The whole South are awaiting the result with extreme anxiety. The body of the Southern people are loyal to the Union—they deprecate any and every circumstance or occurrence by which the bonds which hold it together may be relaxed. But they will not consent to live under it, if its laws may be set at defiance with impunity."

The Washington *Republic* a few weeks since held similar language—it thought it would be a good thing to make an example of some of the Abolition agitators. The *Journal of Commerce*, edited, we believe, by men affecting great piety and philanthropy, dwells with apparent relish upon the penalty of Treason—*hanging by the neck until dead*—and undertakes to show that Fries was far less deserving of punishment than the persons arrested at Syracuse and Christiana. We also learn from a private source that leading Democratic politicians in Philadelphia calculate with certainty on hanging the Christiana offenders. There is some prospect, too, that the vampires in New York may have their appetite for blood gratified, as the telegraph announces that twenty of the prominent, respectable citizens of Syracuse have been arrested for Treason; among them the Rev. Samuel J. May and Charles A. Wheaton.

Fifty-seven cases of Treason! The gallows will not do the work rapidly enough for our merciful Government. Let us have the guillotine at once. In transferring to this land of piety and humanity the *Reign of Blood*, let us import their infernal instrumentalities. Our rulers are all athirst for the blood of respectable citizens; the more respectable the victims, the more signal the evidence of loyalty to the Slave Power. The worshippers of Moloch caused their own children to pass through the fire before the bloody god. "The whole South are awaiting the result," we are informed, "WITH ANXIETY." Fifty-seven American citizens dangling in the air with broken necks, will relieve their anxiety, and win the consent of "the South" "to live under" the Union.

Down with the Traitors, Mr. President, while your hand is in. Such another opportunity may never again occur, for "making an example of the fanatics," as your tender-hearted organ suggests. Drag the editor from the desk, the preacher from the pulpit, the merchant from his counting-house. Giving information is treason; denunciation is treason; refusing to aid kidnappers is treason; freedom of the press, freedom of speech, is treason. The harvest is ripe; "thrust in thy sickle;" gather the offenders, cast them into the wine press, let them be trodden, till "blood come out of the wine press even unto the horses' bridles." Fifty-seven respectable American Traitors! What a terrible rebellion to have yielded such fruits! The Government must have been in imminent danger! But where were the armies arrayed for its overthrow? Have we all been asleep? When did the President proclaim that an enemy was in the field? Has there been civil war, without the country knowing it? Has the price of stocks gone down? Has business been affected? Why, even the telegraph, with all its passion for wonders, has overlooked the fact that war has been levied against the United States, and enemies have appeared in martial array against the Government! Fifty-seven American citizens arrested for High Treason, and yet there has been no levying of war, no martial array, no attempt to overthrow or set at defiance the authority of the Government!

Fifty-seven American citizens indicted for High Treason—their execution *anxiously awaited* by "the whole South:" some of them ministers of the Gospel, some Quakers, their worst offence, that of loving liberty too well. A short time since, a band of adventurers, consisting of Americans and Foreign Emigrants, some actuated by love of plunder, some by a passion for adventure, some by a thirst for glory, some by devotion to liberty, left our shores in violation of the laws of the country, and in disregard of Treaty obligations, attempted by force of arms to overthrow a Government with which we were at peace. Forty were arrested, tried summarily, found guilty, and executed; whereupon the press of our country sent forth a cry of horror, and the mob in New Orleans threatened the life of the Spanish Consul. Even the English journals denounced the act as inhuman; and yet there *was* a levying of war, with an avowed purpose to destroy the Government, and the persons executed were caught in the act. The Government, trembling on the brink of ruin, under the desperation of fear, inflicted the extreme penalty of the law. But, fifty-seven American citizens, not guilty of levying war, not accused of appearing in martial array, not suspected of a design to overthrow the Government, are indicted for high treason, and the officials of the Government, which would not be guilty of the outrageous folly of pretending that it has even been in the slightest danger, are proceeding, not under the impulse of sudden fear, but with cold calculation, slowly and artfully to secure their conviction, "the whole South," as we are informed, "awaiting with anxiety" the infliction of the extreme penalty of the law—"DEATH BY HANGING."

Fifty-seven American citizens, to be hung in a time of profound peace and security, for having been engaged in a riot! And yet, the scoundrels who are urging on this wholesale butchery have the audacity to arraign the Spanish Government as a prodigy of cruelty—a Government which, the moment it was relieved from the apprehension of danger to its existence, pardoned some of the numerous invaders who had fallen into its hands, and suspended the penalty of death as to all the rest!

Now, what is it that is urging the country to this abyss of baseness and wickedness? The devilish demagoguism which is prostituting Northern independence before the Slave Power, to win its favor and alliance. Your Buchanans and Websters, your Pennsylvanians and Republics, are willing to pay any price, even the price of blood, for votes in the next Presidential election. Fifty-seven American citizens, strangled, would be a cheap price in their judgment for the infinite privilege of enjoying and distributing the spoils of office.

Now, we tell all bloody-minded demagogues, you dare not execute these citizens whom you have arraigned on the charge of high treason. Should you really be able to accomplish such a miracle of infamy, you will arouse a storm which will whelm you and your aiders and abetters in ruin. Hang men for constructive high treason, and you will have civil war, unless American citizens are bastard sons of 1776. Rebellion against the enforcement of such a doctrine would be necessary to prevent the Revolution of '76 from becoming a failure. Reactionism may triumph in France; not in America. The villains who would subvert Liberty in this country in the name of Law, are themselves the Traitors, and, if they push their policy to its legitimate result, will meet the fate of Traitors.

ELECTIONS.

The election in Pennsylvania has resulted in the success of Mr. Bigler, the Democratic candidate for the office of Governor, by a majority of four or five thousand. Pennsylvania is a Democratic State, and if it voted for Harrison and Taylor, it was because they were military chieftains. Even their majorities were small; and Governor Johnston, who rode on the mane of Taylor's popularity, received barely two hundred and ninety-seven majority over his opponent. His defeat, this time, with the Democratic Party united against him, and the Webster Whigs either working against him or refusing to aid him, should surprise nobody. The result proves nothing, except that, in ordinary times, the Democrats may calculate upon a majority in Pennsylvania, especially when the Whig candidate is obnoxious to a portion in his party.

Bigler and the Democratic Convention that nominated him, were pledged to the Compromise; but Wilmot and the Proviso Democrats supported him expressly on the ground that his election was a State, not National affair; and that, as it regarded matters of State policy, he was preferable to his opponent. Johnston acquiesced in the Compromise, without approving either that or the Fugitive Law; but the Whigs refused to take ground against those measures, and generally manifested opposition to anti-slavery agitation, while the confirmed Hunkers among them had no objection to the success of Bigler. They had not forgotten the rebuke administered by Governor Johnston to the Union monomania of Mr. Webster.

Of course the election is not an accurate test of the feeling of the People in reference to the Fugitive Law and Compromise; nor does it show anything as to the comparative strength of Presidential candidates. The name of General Scott did not enter prominently into the struggle, nor was it decided by the popularity of Buchanan. Undoubtedly the followers of this gentleman will claim the result as a Buchanan triumph, and on the strength of it insist upon his nomination as the Presidential candidate; but we predict that the most he will gain by it will be a more controlling influence in the Democratic National Convention, in determining what new standard-bearer shall be selected.

OHIO.—The Democrats have carried the election of their candidate for the office of Governor by a majority of ten or fifteen thousand. The Whig organs here say that this result has followed from the working together of Abolitionists and Democrats against the Whigs. The *Washington Union* claims that it is a victory of the Democrats over Abolitionists and Whigs.

Neither representation is true. The Free Soil men had their separate organization, and opposed both the old parties, as they were opposed by them. It was a triangular fight—each party working for itself and its own principles. The Democrats were no more allied with Free-Soilers than were the Whigs.

The result settles nothing as to the Compromise and Fugitive Law, for they were not the issues between the Whigs and the Democrats; nor would either of these parties admit that they were the issues between it and the Free Soil Party. The Conventions of both the old parties refused to sanction the Compromise and the Fugitive Law, or to recommend any Hunker for the Presidency. The Democratic Party stood pledged to the resolutions of its State Convention against the extension of Slavery, and in favor of the policy of its final extinction by constitutional action. And the candidate of the Whig Party had voted in Congress against the Fugitive Law, and for the Wilmot Proviso, while Senator Wade sought votes for him on the ground that the Whig Party was anti-slavery. Both parties labored to win anti-slavery support, but Mr. Vinton sustained loss from the fact that he was regarded as a Hunker Whig sympathizing with Castle Garden movements in favor of the Union. In view of all these considerations, it is dishonest to construe the result of the election in Ohio into a sanction to the Compromise measures or the Fugitive Act, or to represent the Free Soil Party in Ohio as co-operating with either of the old parties.

By the way, the *Union*, which, before the election, while as yet some accessions to the Democratic party were expected from the position of Senator Chase, maintained respecting that gentleman at least a decent reserve, but now that the contest is decided, it gives indications of a change of tactics. The day following the election, an editorial on the subject contained the following allusion to Mr. Chase:

"Everybody but Senator Chase himself treats his recently-avowed purpose to vote the Democratic ticket as *a most manifest tergiversation.*"

Again:

"No man in his senses will pretend that even Senator Chase is a worse Abolitionist than Senator Wade. And Senator Chase *is just trying to work his way into the Democratic ranks, where he is utterly without influence or regular standing*; while Wade is in full communion with the Whig party of the State, was elected by its solid vote, is, indeed, its chosen leader."

These contemptuous remarks betray a spirit and policy which will not greatly aid the prospects of Senator Douglas, the favorite candidate of the *Union*, for the Presidency.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—The bubble at last has burst. We always ridiculed the threats of Disunion by the South, and exposed the various contrivances by which the Demagogues, while apparently urging extreme measures, took care to leave open a door for retreat. The Legislature of Virginia, in its series of resolves, suspended dissolution upon a contingency, which it was known would not happen. The other States which threatened most fiercely, uniformly proposed a series of preliminary movements, submitting the question *to the People*, and *securing delay*, so as to give time for moderate views to prevail. In South Carolina, Senator Butler and men of the same stamp, who had been committed to extreme measures, would not back out squarely, but they hit upon a kind of Yankee trick to extricate themselves from difficulty. They were for Disunion—yes, indeed—the Federal Government was an engine of tyranny—there was no redress for South Carolina, no safety, but out of the Union; still, discretion was not discreditable to Chivalry—some regard should be paid to the sentiments of sister States, whose institutions and interests were the same as hers—it would be safer, as well as more decorous, to wait till they were ready to walk out too, and meantime South Carolina could be indoctrinating them in the true faith. Co-operative, not immediate and separate secession, was the true policy. Forthwith, all the people who had never desired Disunion, and all the politicians who had held it up as a hugbear to frighten the North, rallied under the banner of Co-operative Secession, which, as every other State had decided to tarry in the Union, meant no Secession at all. The thing seemed very transparent, but the Castle Garden gentry, the Clays and Websters and Buchanans, with the "granny" politicians of the North generally, saw cause for serious apprehension in South Carolina; and everywhere the People of the North were solemnly exhorted to be very patriotic, to conquer their prejudices, to show extraordinary zeal in carrying out the Fugitive Law, so as to take away all food from the fire-eaters, and give aid and countenance to our Union friends in the South! Well, an imposture cannot live forever. South Carolina stands stripped of her scarecrow horrors. The latest intelligence shows that in six of the seven Congressional districts in the State, *Co-operationists* have been elected: that is, the People of South Carolina have given the lie to their demagogues by an overwhelming testimony in favor of the Union. As an illustration of the sagacity of Mr. Clay, in relation to South Carolina matters, take the following passage of his Letter on the Union, as it appeared in the New York papers, just at the moment when South Carolina had asserted her determination to abide in the Union:

"South Carolina alone furnishes at present occasion for profound regret and serious apprehension, not so much for the security of the Union as for her own peace and prosperity. We are compelled, painfully and reluctantly, to yield to the force of concurring evidence, establishing that there exists in that State general dissatisfaction with, and a general desire to withdraw from, the Union; and that both parties—that which is for separate State action, and that which insists upon the necessity of co-operation of other States—equally agree as to the expediency of Secession, and differ only in the degree of rashness or prudence which characterizes them, respectively."

We hope Mr. Clay will now sleep in peace. As for Mr. Webster, now that the Union is saved, his occupation is gone; and the important question for him to decide is not, "Where shall I go?" but what shall I *do*?"

KOSSUTH AND THE "PATRIOTS."

The reader will find on our first page some account of the movements of Kossuth. He is probably now at Southampton, where the People and authorities were preparing to receive him with the most signal honors. No man in this century has attracted more attention, or secured more general and profound admiration. It is stated that his children are to remain in England; and the impression in that country is that he will return to it after having visited the United States. A crisis is apprehended daily in Europe, and he may be anxious to be in a position in which he can act without delay.

We find the following paragraph in some of our exchanges:

"The scene on board the United States frigate Mississippi, when the illustrious Kossuth, with his fellow exiles, came on board, is represented to have been impressive in the extreme. The officers of the ship, together with the tender-hearted jack tars, immediately formed a circle around the distinguished strangers, not to gape and stare at them, but to show by their looks, and their presence, and emotion, how heartfelt and warm was their welcome to the protection of the American Republic. A letter from Constantinople says:

"'With tears streaming down his eyes, and intonation of voice expressing the deepest feeling, he uttered a few sentiments, announcing his joy at finding himself under the protection of the glorious stripes and stars of the freest nation in the world. Capt. Long, who had already addressed Gov. K. once on board the Turkish frigate, began again to speak in answer, but his bosom swelled too much with emotion. Tears stood in his eyes, and in the eyes of all the officers and men, and his speech was limited to saying, 'Sir, you are welcome! Sir, you are —— three cheers for Gov. Kossuth.' When this order had been heartily responded to, still Capt. Long, in his joy and sympathy, could add nothing better than 'Three cheers more for Gov. Kossuth.'"

We are sorry to see in the *National Intelligencer*, and a few other papers, communications intended to disparage and check the effort to make Kossuth the object of a signal manifestation of national hospitality and generosity. It is suggested that the men who are now so enthusiastic towards the Hungarian exile, have never yet contributed a cent to the erection of the Washington monument! Such a suggestion, at this time, is in bad taste, and at any time would be anything but reasonable and magnanimous. We have no objection to honoring the illustrious dead by marble columns; by all means, let Washington's monument be built, and let the whole People contribute to the work; but there is a higher way of showing our regard for his memory, and that is by honoring and sustaining those who follow in his footsteps. It were a beautiful display of American character, to lay out hundreds of thousands of dollars on a pile of inanimate stones, for the patriotic dead, and leave the patriotic living to starve! This would be next to stoning the prophets, while building and garnishing the tombs of their ancestors. The champions of Human Rights, belong to no country; they are the property of mankind. Our Washington is one of the *world's* heroes; so is Kossuth. What matters it whether the shores of the Danube or of the Potomac witnessed their struggles for freedom? It is a petty spirit, which, in measuring the claims of services rendered to Humanity, is governed by latitude and longitude.

Freedom is the birthright of man. An assault upon it in Hungary is an assault upon it in the United States. The man who repels the assailant in one country is entitled to the gratitude of both. At this time especially, when the Despots of Europe are laboring to secure complete success to their conspiracy against the rights of mankind, and are regarding the Democracy of this country as the chief bulwark of the Principle they seek to destroy, are we bound to regard as *allies*, the Democracy of the world, and to honor by extraordinary manifestations, its distinguished champions.

Away with this mean, petty clamor about taking care of our own patriots, and then, if we have any crumbs to spare, graciously permitting the stranger to pick them up. The Grand Turk delights in mausoleums and minarets, but he did not imagine that the Prophet would grudge his lavish expenditures upon the exiled Hungarians. We have not heard that any of his patriotic subjects manifested jealousy lest Mahomet should be deprived of his rights by the hospitalities extended to Kossuth, or undertook to discuss publicly the question whether it would not be more pious to take the money generously given to the hunted patriot, and build with it a splendid mausoleum to the Prophet.

Some people seem to think that every act of beneficence or hospitality to a foreigner is an aggression upon their rights. Every cent given in this way is so much taken from them. Such persons fancy themselves patriotic, but their patriotism is the meanest kind of selfishness. They are the legitimate descendants of the old Jews, who thought the Gentiles dogs, and have entirely overlooked the fact that we live under the Christian dispensation, which has the profoundest regard for mankind, but none at all for races or nations.

For the National Era.

OCTOBER.

A WOOD HYMN.

BY CAROLINE A. BRIGGS.

My soul has grown too great to-day
  To utter all it would.
Oh! these preventing bonds of clay!
When will my spirit learn to say,
  Unfettered, all it should!

I'm out in the free woods once more,
  With whispering boughs o'erhead;
Strange influences round me steal,
And yet, what deepliest I feel,
  Must ever be unsaid.

These glowing, glowing autumn hours!
  These wildering, gorgeous days!
This dainty show of painted flowers—
As though with dusty, golden showers
  The air were all a-blaze!

This living, shining, burnished wood,
  Tricked with a thousand dyes!
Its strong ribs laced with crimson sheen,
And decked with gold and glittering green,
  Like kingly tapestries!

This tangled roof of braided light
  Above me richly flung!
These glimpses of the sky's soft blue!
This quivering sunshine melting through!
  This wide Earth, glory-hung!

How shall I utter all I would?
  Alas, my struggling soul—
It strives to grasp these glorious things
As strives a bird on broken wings
  To struggle to its goal.

Marblehead, Mass.

The returns for Governor from all but three counties in the State of Georgia give Mr. Cobb a clear majority over his opponent of 17,868 votes.

There have been elected to the State Senate *thirty-nine* Union to *eight* Southern Rights Senators, and to the House of Representatives 101 Union men to 26 Southern Rights men—leaving five more counties to be heard from.

A LAW PERVERTED.

Some time since, a free colored man, named Douglas, a resident of a neighboring county of Virginia, was returning to Washington from Philadelphia, where he had been trying to raise money to aid him in redeeming from slavery his wife and four children. He met with no success; and, coming back with a heavy heart and light purse, was obliged to leave the cars, and walk homewards. He was hailed at Beltsville, a little place about twelve miles from Washington, by the keeper of the station there, and compelled to stop. Having his free papers, he produced them, but they were coolly taken from him, and he was led off by the keepers to a neighboring hotel, where he was confined by a chain. They wrote a letter for him to a friend in Washington, stating that he was arrested for a violation of the law of Maryland, prohibiting the entrance of colored persons into the State, and that he could be released only on payment of forty dollars. Suspecting a trick, that gentleman went out to the place in the evening train; but on arriving there, he heard that Douglas, having been permitted to walk about the premises, had suddenly disappeared. The fact was, as we learned subsequently, that, inferring from certain mysterious whisperings, he was not at all safe where he was, and knowing that he was a free man, he gave them leg bail, and contrived to reach his home without being caught.

Free colored people, returning from business at the North, are seized on passing from the boat at Havre-de-Grace to take their seats, for which they have paid, on the cars, and informed that they must pay a fine of twenty dollars, before they can be suffered to proceed.

We quote the law under which these petty outrages are perpetrated:

"*An additional supplement to the act of eighteen hundred and thirty-one, chapter three hundred and twenty-three, entitled an act relating to Free Negroes and Slaves.*

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland*, That after the passage of this act, no free negro or mulatto, belonging to or residing in any other State, shall come into this State, whether such free negro or mulatto intends settling in this State or not, under the penalty of twenty dollars for the first offence; and no free negro or mulatto shall come into this State a second time, where he or she has been arrested under the provisions of this act, under the penalty of five hundred dollars; the one half of the said sum of five hundred the dollars to the informer, and the other half to sheriff for the use of the Colonization Society of the State of Maryland, to be recovered on complaint and conviction before the county court of the county, or during the recess, the Orphans' court of said county in which he or she shall be arrested; or any free negro or mulatto refusing or neglecting to pay said fine shall be committed to the jail of the county, and shall be sold by the sheriff at public sale, to the highest bidder, whether a resident of this State or not, first giving ten days' notice of such sale, to serve in the character and capacity of a slave; and the said sheriff, after deducting prison charges and a commision of ten per cent., shall pay over one half of the nett proceeds to the informer, and the balance he shall pay over, if sold in a county on the Eastern Shore, to the treasurer of said Shore, or if sold in a county on the Western Shore, to the treasurer of the Western Shore, for the use of the Colonization Society of the State of Maryland; and for all sums of money so received by the said sheriff his bond shall be answerable on his failure to pay the same over, in an action at law in the name of the State of Maryland, for the use of the parties entitled to receive the same by this act; and all sheriffs and constables are hereby required to arrest any free negro or mulatto who may come into this State contrary to the provisions of this act, and all other persons are authorized to arrest any such free negro or mulatto, who shall have come into the State contrary to the provisions of this act, shall be entitled to the penalty of twenty dollars, hereby inflicted, to be recovered on complaint and conviction, as before stated, and such free negro or mulatto shall pay the said penalty of twenty dollars and all jail fees and expenses incident to his or her arrest and detention, or upon his or her failure to do so, he or she shall be committed and sold as herein provided, in relation to those who have incurred the penalty of five hundred dollars: *Provided*, that if said negro or mulatto shall not remove out of the State within five days after he shall have paid the said sum of twenty dollars, he shall be deemed to have come a second time into the State, and shall be liable as if he had so done."

The clear intention of the law is to prohibit free colored people from *coming into the State* on business, or for pleasure, or to see their relatives and friends. The original act forbids their settling; the supplement forbids them to visit, in the State. This is quite oppressive enough; but when a gang of petty officials undertake to stretch the law to cover the cases of persons of color, not *coming into* the State, but passing through it on a public thoroughfare, in a public conveyance, without stopping longer than the necessities of such conveyance demand, they are guilty of a greater wrong than the act itself contemplated. It is a very easy way for them to make money by the operation, but we should think that the State of Maryland would allow compensation enough to its magistrates, in the legitimate fees of their office, without compelling them to fleece a poor colored man for support. If such a construction of the law be tolerated, we shall have a new process for manufacturing slaves; for, should a free person of color repeat the offence of *passing through* Maryland, on his way, it may be to soothe the last moments of a dying parent, he would be liable to be arrested and sold as a slave for life, unless he could raise five hundred dollars!

Suppose the Colonization Society of Washington should undertake to carry through Maryland to New York, for the purpose of shipping to Liberia, some score of free colored emigrants, it would be obliged to pay a total fine of $400!

The good people of Maryland will not suffer themselves to be so disgraced; the press of that State will certainly speak out against this outrageous misconstruction of a law which, at the best, is an extremely oppressive one. Let the meaning of the law be decided by some responsible tribunal on a suit for damages against a constable or magistrate who shall attempt this perversion of its intention.

DISCLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY.

The Washington *Republic*, while admitting the report that the President has issued orders to enforce the laws in Syracuse against those who were guilty of a breach of the peace, denies that he ordered them to be indicted for Treason. The New York *Express* also says:

"This is a new discovery, that the Administration is responsible for the law of treason, and the construction that the courts put upon the law of treason. The Administration is attacked, as if it were responsible for what Lord Coke said, or John Marshall, or Judge Story—nay, what all intelligent judges have said for two hundred years. Treason is very clearly defined in the law books. It is very difficult to mistake what it is. These law books and this definition the Administration did not make; and if any criminals fall in the way of them, it is the law, not the Administration, that is their enemy."

So, the Administration journals begin to find out that these prosecutions are pushed too far, and they are now anxious to shield the President from responsibility in the matter. They will find themselves obliged to be a little more explicit and emphatic in their disclaimers, as the People become awakened to the full enormity of the doctrine of constructive Treason. This thing of putting to death American citizens, for acts, made Treason, not by the Constitution or Laws, but by interpretation of irresponsible Judges, who respect English precedents more than republican institutions, "wont go" in this country. As for the New York *Express*, if it live long enough, it will learn that the *Constitution* has defined the only act, to be recognised and treated in our country as treason—the act of "levying war," and adhering to the enemies of the United States, giving them aid and comfort. It did not leave it to judges, lawyers, or law books, English, or American, to define Treason. As the Constitution is the "higher law" of the *Express*, let it study *that*, instead of Coke and Jeffreys.

A MAXIM OF WASHINGTON.

"Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, conscience," was one of a series of maxims which Washington framed or copied for his own use when a boy. His rigid adherence to principle, his steadfast discharge of duty, his utter abandonment of self, his unreserved devotion to whatever interests were committed to his care, attest the vigilance with which he obeyed that maxim. He kept alive that spark! He made it shine before men. He kindled it into a flame which illuminated his whole life. No occasion was so momentous, no circumstance so minute, as to absolve him from following its guiding ray. The marginal explanation in his account book, in regard to the expenses of his wife's annual visit to the camp during the Revolutionary war, with his passing allusion to the self-denial which the exigencies of his country had cost him, furnishes a charming illustration of his habitual exactness.

We commend the above, with the lesson it teaches, to the Union Safety Committee, and the "lower law" advocates, it being notorious that they apprehend great mischief from the *conscientiousness* of the people. Forgetful of the above maxim, which deserves to be written in letters of gold, we are urged to "conquer our prejudices" in favor of liberty, and to commit our consciences to the keeping of the law-makers. It may be that the law-makers are great men, and wisdom will die with them, but, with Washington, we will "Labor to keep alive in our breasts that little spark of celestial fire, conscience." *

ANOTHER CHANCE.

We observe in one of the Baltimore papers an advertisement for a "German national loan of two millions of dollars, which has for its object the promotion of the impending German revolution." The advertisers obligate themselves to exert all their influence to "cause the capital and interest of the German national loan to be acknowledged as a State debt after the victory of the revolution; and promise that all the conditions entered into by contracting the loan shall be faithfully fulfilled."

We suppose that this loan will be promptly taken by capitalists who are partial to this kind of security. There have been two or three such loans taken here, at a somewhat formidable discount. The Cuban bondholders paid, it is said, ten cents on the dollar for their paper, secured by the mortgage of a province which the mortgagors did not own. The German revolutionists offer nothing but a personal security, which is something more modest, but may not be considered more reliable.

This German proposition may be regarded as more nearly resembling the Irish subscription, perhaps, than the Cuban speculation. That experiment in donation was hardly so encouraging as to justify a very eager enthusiasm to participate in this new arrangement.

Republic.

The *Republic* is the special organ of the Administration. It neglects no occasion for a fling at progress, reform, or revolution. The praiseworthy attempt among the Germans in this country to raise a fund for the deliverance of their father-land, is deemed a fit subject for ridicule. And it is a fact worthy of remark that the noble address of Kossuth to the People of the United States, which appeared in the *Union* of last Friday, and, but for a misunderstanding, would have been offered to all the newspapers here for simultaneous publication, has found neither place nor notice in the columns of the Presidential organ. And yet, as the reader will see, (despite the blunders of a miserable translation,) the Address is intended for the American People, and is worthy of their profound consideration. It exhibits the causes and course of the Hungarian revolution with great clearness and force, enlarges upon the example of self-government afforded by the United States, the powerful effect of their institutions in Europe, thanks them with an overflowing heart for the sympathy the American People have manifested in the struggles of the masses of their less-favored brethren in other lands, and tells them what an encouragement it brought to the patriotic defenders of Hungarian independence in the darkest hour.

This eloquent paper, emanating from a man, whom all England is rising up to greet, whose purity of heart and life has never been called in question, and who will soon be brought to our shores, as the nation's guest, on board a national vessel, by order of the Government, is not allowed a place in the columns of the *Republic*, a newspaper claiming to be the special organ of the Administration!

Does it reflect in this matter the feelings of the Administration? Is Mr. Fillmore afraid of taking too much notice of Kossuth? Does he begin to cower before the villanous despotisms of Austria and Russia, or is he anxious to propitiate their favor by denying ordinary courtesy to the illustrious rebel whom the puny Austrian has lately hung in effigy? If not, let him admonish his organ to throw a decent veil over its sympathics with Absolutism, and its unfriendliness to the cause of Revolution. The Administration or party, in this country, that falls under suspicion of mere indifference to the struggles of the masses of Europe against their tyrants, is doomed. Fellowship with European Despotism is Treason to American Liberty.

For the National Era.

AN INCIDENT.

BY WILLIAM SYDNEY THAYER.

The Spring is breathing on the earth
  Its soft, warm gales of scented air,
And birds and bees are singing forth
  The joy of Nature everywhere.

A darker green creeps o'er the hill,
  The lilac purples in the hedge,
The budding willow by the rill
  Leans with young boughs beside its edge.

The bush, that through the winter long
  Tapped dolefully against the pane,
Is gladdened by a golden throng
  Of blossoms brimmed with evening rain.

But here, while all is joy and hope,
  In Death's mysterious slumbers bound,
Lies one, whose eyes shall never ope
  To the gay scene of life around.

On the cold, wrinkled face, a smile
  Tells that the soul, exempt from change,
Has sailed for some serener isle,
  In happier fields than ours to range.

As free and light, as if the breeze
  Had blown her from the odorous west,
A child, wreathed with anemones,
  Glides towards the aged form at rest.

Her fair curls toss in wild delight,
  Her sweet eyes are of changeful blue,
Yet the still mystery of that sight
  Has touched them with a deeper hue.

Start not, dear child, so sweet and fair!
  At the calm features thou hast viewed;
For thou with that pale sleeper there
  Art linked in strange similitude.

Both at Life's dawning! Thine is blent
  Of care and mirth, of smiles and tears;
Hers, flooded with divine content,
  Unmeasured by the flight of years.

Milton, Mass., 1851.

THE PRESS AND KOSSUTH'S ADDRESS.

The eloquent address of Kossuth, on our fourth page, produced a great sensation on its appearance in the *Union*. In New York, the *Evening Post, Herald, Daily Times, Tribune*, &c., inserted it without delay, and by this time it has been read by hundreds of thousands of our People. The following from the *New York Evening Post* shows what the New York press thinks of a document that the two Whig organs in this city do not deem worthy of a place in their columns:

The Address of Kossuth.—We republish on the outside, from our second edition of Saturday, the great address of Kossuth to the people of America. In doing so, we cannot forbear to remark upon the excellent taste, the fine rhetoric, the pure and lofty sentiment, and the deep religious enthusiasm, by which it is characterized. We have seldom read a public document in which good sound sense was more happily blended with the most glowing eloquence. It has the fervor and brilliance of the Oriental imagination, chastened by the rugged strength of the Northern mind. No one can read it without deriving from it a clear idea of the causes and consequences of the Hungarian struggle, of its justness and absolute necessity, and of the magnanimous forbearance and prudence, as well as earnest valor, by which it was conducted.

Kossuth is an evident enthusiast, but one whose strong convictions and fearless zeal is controlled by a clear insight into the practical bearings of the questions he handles, and a thorough knowledge of the temper and tone of his people. It is this ability to manage, combined with this ardent sincerity, which gives him such instant and wide influence with his fellows, which induces them to mingle with their profound love of him as a man, some degree of that veneration which exalts him into the prophet. This reciprocal devotion of the people and their leader, indeed, has a beautiful simplicity in it, exceedingly rare in these days, and not often surpassed in those earlier times when the worship of heroes was a living faith.

Kossuth, in the liberal expression of his gratitude to England and the United States, pays the highest compliment to their generosity and freedom; but at the same time makes an incidental remark, which is full of keen rebuke. Had a single English or French agent, says he, come to us in our trouble, the event would have been changed! What a poignant reflection is that? Had the liberal nations of the earth followed up their cheap sympathy with the bold outward act, Hungary would not now be bleeding at the feet of the Czar; and her children would not now be wandering, homeless and outcast, over the face of the earth.

UNION-SAVERS.

Two Manifestoes are before us from a couple of Union-savers who have for a considerable time been in a quiescent state—we mean Ex-Vice President Dallas, and Senator Clay. The letter of Mr. Dallas is addressed to Mr. Bryan of Texas, from Schooley's Mountain, where the writer at the date of the letter, July last, was enjoying "the beautics of nature." The retired politician affects a deal of philosophy, is inclined to think that the Compromise and the Fugitive Law have failed, and insists that there ought to be an amendment to the Federal Constitution for the purpose of securing the domestic institutions of the South, and suppressing agitation. We waded through the cloudy conceits of the Letter, expecting to find somewhere a statement of the wonderful amendment that should accomplish such results, but not a trace of it could we detect. The whole production is feeble and inconclusive, not worth the comment we have bestowed on it.

Mr. Clay's Letter is in reply to the Castle Garden patriots of New York, who are still in trepidation for the Union. His counsels, they hope, will be like oil on the troubled waters. The Letter is very well written. The author does not seem to sympathize with the profound apprehensions of the "patriots." He thinks North and South loyal; that the Compromise measures were just what they ought to have been, and that all the world is beginning to believe so—that the Fugitive Law is just and good, and will be executed—and that Mr. Seward and his friends, in simply asserting the right to discuss and seek the modification of any law, did a very unnecessary thing, and really meant only to throw up a decent cover for their retreat from a wrong position. He does not name Mr. Seward, but he designates him with sufficient clearness.

The main part of the Letter, however, is devoted to the subject of Secession, on which he makes a fair argument, only it happens to be a little after date.

Shall we not be favored next with a Letter from the distinguished Michigan Union-saver? It may induce Senator Rhett and his associate in South Carolina, the only Secession members elected to the Southern Congress, to abstain from a dissolution of the Union under present circumstances.

SPECIAL MINISTER FOR SPAIN.—The Spanish journals are threatening war and extermination against the United States. It is reported that a special minister is on his way hither to demand satisfaction. Our Government has dismissed the collector at the Port of New Orleans, it prevented any expedition from this country to succor Lopez, and is about confiscating the Pamperos. What more does Spain want?

LITERARY NOTICES.

HARRY BURNHAM, THE YOUNG CONTINENTAL. By Henry S. Buckingham. New York: Burgess & Garrett. For sale by W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

This purports to be the memoirs of an American officer, during the campaigns of the Revolution, and, from a hasty glance at its pages, we infer that it is not a commonplace story. It seems to be full of action and interest.

THE MODEL ARCHITECT. By Samuel Sloan, architect, Philadelphia. Published by E. S. Jones & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

The Model Architect contains original designs for cottages, villas, suburban residences, country churches, school-houses, &c., accompanied by explanations, specifications, estimates, and elaborate details, prepared expressly for the use of projectors and artisans. It appears in large quarto form, in monthly numbers, and is to be completed in two volumes of twelve numbers each. Each number contains four lithograph engravings, of original designs for buildings, with four pages of details corresponding to them, and eight pages of letter press descriptive of these designs, and giving extended accounts of the various styles adopted, &c. The illustrations are handsomely executed, and the work is highly ornamented. The price of each number is fifty cents. It has already reached the fourth number. The third and fourth we have received, and should be obliged to the publishers if they would send us the first and second, as well as those that are to follow.

LIFE OF GENERAL LOPEZ. By a Filibustiero. New York: Dewitt & Davenport. For sale as above.

A small pamphlet, giving a general account of the career of the unfortunate Lopez, with a sketch of the late movement in and against Cuba.

THE MYSTERIES OF FREE MASONRY. By Captain William Morgan. Revised by George R. Crafts. New York: Wilson & Co.

These "Mysteries," which excited so much feeling at their first publication, now appear, without threats of violence and abduction against their publishers. With the corrections of Mr. Crafts, they form a volume of 112 pages. It is a singular book, and will probably always find readers.

APPLETON'S MECHANICS' MAGAZINE. Vol. I, No. 10. By Julius W. Adams. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

This number contains a great variety of articles of interest to mechanics.

DICTIONARY OF MECHANICS, ENGINE WORK, AND ENGINEERING. D. Appleton & Co. For sale as above.

We have received the fortieth number, which completes this elaborate and useful work. The publications of all countries in relation to mechanics and engineering have been laid under contribution, and the result is a mass of facts methodically arranged, of great value to all interested in the subject.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW. October, 1851. J. McClintock, D. D., editor. New York: Lane & Scott. For sale by A. Gray, Seventh street, Washington, D. C.

The general reader will be interested with the liberal articles on Algernon Sidney, John Randolph, the Patriarchal Age, and the Bible and Civil Government. "Short reviews and notices," and "literary intelligence," are all good.

GRAHAM'S AMERICAN MONTHLY. Philadelphia: George R. Graham. November, 1851.

The ladies will find in this number "a superb plate of fall fashions, prepared in Paris exclusively for this work."

MR. SOULE'S SPEECH at Opelousas, Louisiana. September 6th, 1851.

Mr. Soulé is a classical and forcible speaker, and he shows in this speech great courage and independence in maintaining the ground he took last Congress in the Senate of the United States.

LONDON LABOR AND THE LONDON POOR. By Henry Mayhew. Published by the Harpers, New York. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

This exhibition of real life in London has all the interest of a skilfully wrought novel, with the additional advantage that it is a work of *facts*.

PICTORIAL FIELD BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION. By Benson J. Lossing. Published and for sale as above. No. 17.

This number contains many peculiarly interesting reminiscences concerning the treason and arrest of Arnold, the crossing of the Delaware by Washington, the Trenton battle-ground, &c.

THE KNICKERBOCKER. October, 1851. New York: S. Hueston, publisher. For sale by W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

This monthly is quite attractive this month. The editor's table keeps up its reputation.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. William Harned, New York.

The annual meeting of the Society was held at New York the 6th of last May, and an abstract of this report was then read. It has since been published in full, and occupies, with the proceedings of the meeting, 144 pages. Mr. Lewis Tappan is the author—a man who has generously devoted his time, without compensation, to the anti-slavery cause. His reports are rich repositories of facts, presenting from year to year a condensed narrative of the progress of the general movement on the subject of slavery, and containing a record of the acts of civil and ecclesiastical bodies in regard to it. The report this year is ably drawn up, and will be of great use not only to anti-slavery readers, but to politicians and ministers generally.

LETTER TO THE HON. SAMUEL ELIOT. By Hancock. Boston: Crosby & Nichols.

This letter is a searching and scathing exposure of the apology put forth by Mr. Eliot for his vote in favor of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Among all the publications to which the passage of that bill has given birth, none has interested us more than this, and we should have noticed it before, but for the scores of similar pamphlets that had been sent to us.

This letter corrects Mr. Eliot's misstatements concerning the compromises of the Constitution, and presents a concise and very clear analysis of them; and in reply to Mr. Eliot's reason for voting for the Fugitive Bill, it proceeds to examine that measure and its practical operation thoroughly and severely. The argument is able, the invective powerful, and the style remarkably clear and direct. We presume the publication may be had of William Harned, New York.

THE LILY AND THE BEE. By Samuel Warren, F. R. S. Published by the Harpers. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

The reputation of the author of the "Diary of a Physician" and "Now and Then" will

secure readers for this Apologue of the Crystal Palace, independently of its merits. It is full of loyalty and piety, with some fancy and poetry, much of the book being cast in the old Anglo-Saxon measure.

ARNOLD'S FIRST LATIN BOOK, remodeled and rewritten, and adapted to the Ollendorff method of instruction. By Albert Harkness. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Harkness, Senior Master in the Providence High School, has attempted to remodel Arnold's First and Second Latin Books, introduced to the American Public five years ago, so as to remedy some of their defects, and incorporate in them several important improvements. The volume is well printed, and neatly got up.

COALITION IN MASSACHUSETTS.—The Free-Soilers and Democrats in Massachusetts are forming what are called coalition tickets throughout the State. More properly, they have agreed to co-operate in the support of candidates, unobjectionable to either party. If they think alike on main points in relation to State policy and the Slavery question, they are acting honestly and sensibly. The *Republic*, in its deep devotion to political purity, thinks their conduct shameless and atrocious. It has never found anything inconsistent with the strictest principle in the coalition of Hunker Whigs and Democrats.

THE SYRACUSE AFFAIR.—The bloodhounds have been baffled in New York. Judge Conklin does not belong to the Jeffreys school. The parties charged with participation in the Syracuse rescue, after an examination at Auburn, were held to bail last Saturday, to appear at Buffalo, on the second Tuesday of November next, to answer the charge, not of treason, but of misdemeanor.

"LEVYING WAR."

The New York *Independent* has an able article on Judge Kane's definition of treason, from which we take the following extract; which brings to light a judicial opinion of much importance.

As to the import of the phrase, "levying war" against the United States, there can be no reasonable doubt. Lopez levied war—though on a sufficiently reduced scale—against the Spanish Government in Cuba, and he met the death of a traitor. His avowed intention was to overthrow the Government. Nothing short of this is "levying war" within the intent of the Federal Constitution. To resist the execution of a specific law, for local or occasional reasons, is not levying war against the Government. The *Commercial Advertiser* here quotes a case in point, from the first volume of Paine's Circuit Court reports. During the embargo it was quite an object to smuggle goods, especially potash, across the Northern frontier into Canada, and there exchange for contraband British goods. A raft of potash was seized by the United States Collector, at Alburgh, Vermont, and put under a guard of United States soldiers. One *Frederick Hoxie* stipulated with the owner of the raft that he would rescue it and carry it to the Canada shore: and this he did by force of arms, driving off the Collector and the United States troops. He was afterwards tried for treason before Justice Livingston, of the Supreme Court, and District Judge Paine—both of the highest authority.

"The defendant was charged in the indictment, that being a citizen of the United States, and intending to oppose the execution of the laws thereof, and especially the embargo law, he, with sixty armed men, on the 13th of June 1808, at Alburgh, Vermont, with force of arms, resisted the Collector, and rescued from his custody a certain raft which had been seized by the Collector when on its way to Canada; that further, the defendant and his company had fired upon the Collector and the United States troops who were guarding the raft. The evidence proved these facts, and further, that although no one was wounded, the firing was in earnest, and intended for execution; that the defendant and his men had planned this armed opposition to the law, and were to be paid $800 if it was successful; that the defendant was upon the raft, and actively engaged in firing; that he had been engaged in other attempts to pass the lines with potashes, and that he had *occasionally talked about fighting his way through*."

In his charge, Judge Livingston remarked—

"Treason not only holds a conspicuous, and generally the first place, in every catalogue of crimes, but is almost universally punished with death. Government is so high a blessing, and its preservation and support are so essential to the welfare of the body politic, that to attempt its subversion has ever been regarded a most aggravated offence. But the resentment so naturally enkindled against those who are supposed to aim at the destruction of the only security which we enjoy for life, liberty, and estate, leads us frequently to include under this high crime offences greatly inferior in turpitude, much less dangerous in their effects, and in every respect of a different description and tendency.

"To prevent, therefore, as far as possible, every abuse by the extension of treason to offences which, in times of public agitation, might, by violent or corrupt constructions, be pretended to belong to it, there was inserted in our national compact a rule which was to be binding in every department of Government. To define and provide punishments for other crimes of Federal cognizance is left to Congress; but with a jealousy on this subject which a full knowledge of the excesses that had so often been committed in other countries by parties contending for dominion was well calculated to excite, no other trust was here reposed in the Legislature, than that of prescribing in what way treason was to be punished. For its definition, resort was ever to be had to that great fundamental law which was to be binding at all times, and was not liable to be changed on a sudden emergency, so as to gratify the vengeance or promote the views of aspiring or designing men. In the Constitution we accordingly find this very limited definition of it: 'Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.'

"And he subsequently adds: 'When the object of an insurrection is of a *local* or private nature, not having a *direct tendency to destroy all property and all government* by numbers and an armed force, IT WILL NOT AMOUNT TO TREASON; and in these and other cases that occur, the true criterion is the intention with which the parties assembled. The learned justice then reviewed the decisions of our own courts, and so charged the jury that they acquitted the prisoner."

The case at Alburgh wore much the semblance of treason. There was an avowed purpose to resist the execution of a law of the United States; there was a combination for such resistance; the resistance was made with arms, and was directed against a United States officer and a portion of the United States army. Still it lacked the essential element of treason, as defined in the Constitution; there was no attempt to overthrow the Government of the States, no "levying war against them." So the Judge charged, and so the jury found.

In the Christiana case, according to the Rev. Mr. Gorsuch, there was no United States officer on the ground at the time of the affray, he having formally withdrawn the process, and called upon his aids to retire. The attempt to make treason of such an affray is an outrage alike upon the Constitution and common sense. But alas! truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter.

From the New York Evening Post.

SIX HUNDRED MEN TO BE HANGED.

The Administration journals are clamorous for the condemnation of all who were engaged in the late disturbances at Syracuse, and all who were in any manner concerned in the affair at Christiana, as guilty of treason. There were about five hundred men engaged in the rescue of the slave at Syracuse, and about a hundred are in some way implicated in the affair at Christiana. All these, if the demand of the Administration and its friends is gratified, are to be hanged; for the punishment of treason by our law is death, and all who in any way favor a treasonable action are considered by the law, not as accomplices, and therefore subject to a lighter punishment, but as principals, and liable to the uttermost penalty. One of these journals, the Syracuse *Star*, quoted in this morning's *Journal of Commerce*, demands that the clergy, especially those of Syracuse, who preach against the Fugitive Slave Law, should be punished for this, equally with those who led the riot—in other words, that they should be hanged. We are to have victims, not singly, but by hecatombs; the Administration thirsts for blood, and must have it, not in shallow draughts, but in rivers.

But it demands too much. Let it beware lest by prosecuting these men for a crime which the public sense will almost unanimously declare that they never committed, it does not furnish them an opportunity to escape from all punishment whatever. We do not justify the conduct of those who were engaged in the riots at Christiana and Syracuse; we uphold no man in forcible resistance to the ordinance respecting fugitive slaves, detestable as we think it; but we hold that the attempt on the part of Mr. Fillmore's Administration, and its creatures, to change the character of these riots, from that which they truly bear—as occasional acts of resistance to law—and cause them to be regarded as acts of war upon the United States, in order that the punishment may be the more bloody, and involve a greater number of victories, is a proceeding as much worse than the offence committed at Christiana and Syracuse, as murder is worse than manslaughter. Let the Administration bethink itself whether it is likely to succeed in this attempt, when the juries of the country come to pronounce upon the innocence or guilt of the accused.

Is there a jury in Pennsylvania or New York, which will allow itself, at the instance of the Government or any of its partisans, so far to forget its common sense as to say that the country is or has been in a state of civil war? for this in fact is the point in question. Treason, by the Constitution, consists "only in levying war against the United States," or aiding those who are at war with them. Observe the phrase chosen, a phrase of very particular meaning, "levying war;"—implying not a transitory resistance, not occasional acts of violence or hostility, but an armed organization for withstanding and breaking up by bloodshed the authority of the Government within its rightful sphere.

Will any jury in any part of the country, when they come to compare the acts of the accused with the words of the Constitution, say on oath there has been a war in the country of late—a war waged, levied, organized—or anything else than a mere outbreak of the popular feeling against a hated law? In some parts of the country, where this law has been put in execution, the people have looked on with a gloomy and discontented acquiescence; in some, as in Syracuse, their indignation has overmastered their discretion, and they have rescued the prisoners; in other cases the free people of that unfortunate race to which the slaves belong have resisted the law, and taken the slave from its grasp. This very diversity in the manifestations of discontent with the law, shows that there is nothing like war in the country, nothing like an organized system of hostilities directed against the Government.

Those who have resisted the law have made themselves amenable to the courts for breach of the peace, for unlawful violence, for riot. This is their crime, and for this let them be punished; but let there be no straining of the words of the Constitution and the laws from their fair and just meaning, in order to make the administration of justice a snare for men's lives, and a pretext for condemning our fellow-citizens to the gallows by thousands. If the Federal Administration perseveres in this course, we predict for it a signal and ignominous defeat. Its agents will find themselves repulsed by the verdicts of the juries, and will steal out from the courts in disappointment and shame.

Some stress has been laid, by the journals in the interest of the Administration, on the opinions of English jurists, as to what constitutes treason; and the words of Judge Chase, of the United States Court, have been cited, interpreting the levying of war to mean almost any act of forcible resistance to the laws, in which more than one person is engaged. We have, for our part, little regard for such opinions, inasmuch as those who held them manifestly sought by subtle interpretations to extend the power of men in authority to avenge themselves on their political adversaries. The meaning of the Constitution in regard to treason is so plain to every man's common sense that it needs no legal gloss.

As for Judge Chase, his expositions of the Constitution, which are now quoted with such deference, were given by him at the trial of John Fries, for his conduct during which, among other matters of accusation, he was impeached before the Senate. Fries, in 1799, headed a successful attempt to rescue thirty prisoners from the hands of the United States Marshal, who had them in custody for resisting the levy of an unpopular direct tax. Fries was prosecuted for treason, and found guilty; his companions were found guilty of a high misdemeanor.

The President pardoned Fries, and thus wisely quieted the public indignation. On the impeachment of Judge Chase, the article which accused him of "arbitrary, oppressive, and unjust" conduct on the trial of Fries, was submitted to the Senate, sixteen members of which pronounced the Judge guilty, and eighteen gave a contrary vote, so narrowly did he escape punishment. From his time—from the time of the pardon of Fries—a most significant event, from which the present Administration may well take a lesson—this strained doctrine of treason has slept till now, when it is revived by Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster. If they choose to press it, the more boldly and unreservedly they insist upon it the better we shall be satisfied.

From the New York Commercial Advertiser.

TREASON.

Now, one difficulty that presents itself to our mind is, that, measured by these definitions, almost every serious riot might be magnified into the crime of treason; or, in other words, the law of treason might thus be made to embrace a class of crime for which the framers of the Constitution never designed to impose so grave a penalty as that which attaches to treason. Another difficulty is, that so far as the reported evidence at the examinations enables us to judge, the prosecution will fail to convince an intelligent jury that the murderers of Mr. Gorsuch really intended to commit a belligerent act *against the United States Government*. "Combination" we hold to be proved; combination to prevent the arrest, by any and all means, of certain persons whom the law required should be given up, to be disposed of by its authority; and combination, too, directed against the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, enacted by the Congress of the United States in a specific case. We hold such opposition to the recognised law of the land to be morally treason—treasonable in temper—as in truth is all unwillingness to aid in enforcing the law. But the real question is, Is it the actual treason contemplated by the Constitution?

Genuine conservatism—the cause of law and order—will lose nothing, but gain much, by a calm and rigid examination of the mode in which Judge Kane's charge to the grand jury proposes to apply the law of treason. It is quite as necessary to guard our liberties as to support our laws. True patriotism consists in the equal discharge of the two duties. Failure in one particular would involve us in despotism; neglect in the other would plunge us in the gulf of anarchy. Let us, therefore, see how such an interpretation of the law would operate in any supposable case. Twenty citizens of the United States confederate in a smuggling operation. They know it to be illegal; they are warned that the revenue officers will seize the goods in port, and confiscate them; they openly declare that they will surrender the goods only with their lives, and avowedly arm themselves in order to resist the executors of the law; a conflict follows, a revenue officer is shot, and others are wounded. Would those smugglers be arraigned for treason? Was such a thing ever known? Such conflicts, with such results, have not been unfrequent upon the coast of England, but we never heard of an indictment for treason being framed against the smugglers.

Yet it is easy to see that the principles laid down in the extracts we have made from the charge would constitute such a conflict or riot an act of treason. It would be a "combination forcibly to prevent or oppose the execution or enforcement of a public statute, accompanied by an act of forcible opposition in pursuance of such combination." The two "indispensable elements of treason" would be found in it—conspiracy to oppose, and the exercise of actual force in opposition, after the purpose had been declared. It may be answered that the crime of the contrabandists in such case *would be treason*. Assuredly it would be, if there is no stretching of the law in Judge Kane's charge. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that, even when the frequency of the crime demanded severe penalties and repressive measures, it has never been so considered either by English or American courts—because, as we apprehend, opposition to the law for a *personal end*, even when that opposition has the "essential elements" of combination and the employment of actual force, is not looked upon as an act of rebellion against the Government or Constitution, or body of laws and enactments, but as a crime against a single law, with the specific object of personal gain, real or imagined, in one form or in another.

The reader will see, therefore, why we deem the indictment of these men for treason unwise. It appears to us a novel and unnecessarily stringent application of the principles of law, such as to excite some jealousy in the popular mind. This embraces the difficulty of conviction, and a failure to convict of the principal crime will mar the moral effect of the entire action of the Government in defence of the supremacy of the law.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

JUDGE KANE'S CHARGE.

The intelligence of Judge K. is to be impeached as much as his humanity. To predicate treason on an act which was purely one of self-defence, is to confound all legal as well as moral distinctions. By the Constitution, treason against the United States consists in "levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." To resist an officer is not levying war; to kill one who is approaching you with deadly weapons, in a murderous spirit, is not treason; to oppose a particular enactment is not to plot the overthrow of the Government. By the Constitution of Maryland—the very State from which Gorsuch came on his mission of villany—it is expressly declared that "*the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind.*" Here is a full justification of the resistance made by the gallant blacks of Christiana. The spirit by which they were actuated was not one of hostility to the United States; it was neither disorderly nor vindictive; it did not seek a disturbance of the peace; it courted no conflict with the Government; it desired nothing but peace and concord; it acted in self-defence, for self-preservation. No candid mind doubts this; even the blindest must apprehend it. To arrest them, therefore, on the charge of treason, to put them on trial as traitors, is an insult to the common intelligence of our race, and a procedure so damnable as to call for the execrations of an astonished world on all those who participate in it. "Cain! Cain! where is thy brother?"

Every man's house is his castle, and he is entitled to defend the same against all unlawful intruders. Thus, 4 Blackstone's Com., p. 223:

"In civil society, the laws come in to the assistance of the weaker party; and besides that, they leave him his natural right of killing the aggressor if he can; they also protect and avenge him, in case the might of the assailant is too powerful. The law of England has so particular and tender a regard to the immunity of a man's house, that it styles it his castle, and will never suffer it to be violated with impunity. For this reason, no outward doors can be broken open to execute *any civil process*."

From the Cleveland True Democrat.

REBELLION RATHER.

We are patient in all things. We are for peace, and the arts of peace, in every essential act. But if there be an attempt, made by ours, or any Government under Heaven, to make such acts *crimes*—to construe them into treason, and we could not, by appeal to the people, and through the ballot box, reach and remedy this accursed tyranny, and rescue from the dungeon and the gallows the noble men who did these acts, we would counsel rebellion, anything lawful for man to do, to rid our land, or any land, of such infernal despotism. It is too much for law-obeying freemen to endure. It is too much for Christian patriotism to suffer.

From the Albany Evening Journal.

INDICTMENT FOR TREASON.

There is a spirit of subserviency among us on this question, which should awaken indignation rather than contempt. The sentiment of freedom on the subject of slavery has found a very low standard. The press, with but few rare exceptions, are pandering to that spirit.

The judicial proceeding against the Christiana negroes is in violation of that clause of the Constitution which defines the crime of treason thus:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court."

There is no warrant for that proceeding, therefore, either in the Constitution or in any law of Congress; nor is there any judicial precedent for this strained construction. And yet the public sentiment is so overawed and the public press so tamed, that scarcely a voice of remonstrance or reproof is heard!

Look at the spectacle of a colored preacher, who stands indicted for treason because he informed that the slave-catchers were on their way to Christiana after fugitives.

That colored preacher obeyed an impulse for which he can, and, if need be, will, go to the dungeon or the gallows rejoicing. To withhold that information from those who were "flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone," would have been an offence against the laws of nature and humanity. There is not a law upon any statute book, that either in letter or spirit makes the act with which that colored preacher is charged, a crime. But a high judicial tribunal has had him indicted for treason! Before sentence can pass against him, there must be a trial—a trial, God be praised, by jury.

Slavery, acting upon the hopes and the fears of men who are looking to the South for political or pecuniary advantages, is now exerting a powerful sway over the public mind. And this "Peculiar Institution" is most exacting and arbitrary in its demands. It asks security in a bond, that henceforth the North shall not disturb, even in the way of an amendment, any of the "Compromise Laws." And to this despotic demand there is, by politicians and merchants, a tame acquiescence.

THE BANKER LATHAM.—The Richmond *Republican*, in quoting our notice of the Hogarth Cane, recently conveyed across the Atlantic as a present to Mr. Latham, says:

"It gives us great pleasure to transfer to our columns the following article from the Washington *Telegraph*. Mr. Latham is one of the most sagacious and energetic of the business men of this country, and combines with fine intelligence a generous, sympathizing, and liberal soul. He is one of 'Nature's noblemen,' and we are glad to know that he has won the smiles of Fortune as well as of Nature, and is coining money fast enough to keep up the dignity of Nature's patent of nobility. Mr. Latham is a self-made man, and by his own clear head and indomitable spirit has conquered obstacles which would have affrighted common minds, and placed himself upon a theatre which affords a wide field for distinction, honor, and usefulness. We rejoice in his success; and were it not an unwise and therefore an unfriendly wish, we could desire him to become as rich as Crœsus. But, instead of this, we trust he will be satisfied when he acquires the fortune of Girard or John Jacob Astor. We know that he will take care to distribute his money to deserving objects before he dies, and that he will not follow the example of some old skinflints, whose hands are never open till death unclasps their gripe, and who give their money to the poor from the same necessity which compels them to yield their souls to the devil."

American Telegraph.

ANOTHER TRIUMPH.—The London *Morning Chronicle* praises some Brussels carpets exhibited at the Fair, and which were woven upon power-looms at the manufactory of Mr. Bigelow, the inventor, in Massachusetts. The *Chronicle* says:

"Although various attempts have been made to adapt the power-loom to carpet weaving in England, there is not, we believe, at this moment any machinery perfected for that object. Our American brethren have therefore gained another step ahead of us, and have won another laurel on this well-contested field of the industrial arts."

FROM CALIFORNIA.

The California steamer Illinois brings nearly $2,000,000 in gold dust. The election returns for Governor are still uncertain, though the probability is in favor of the Whig candidate. The Legislature will have a majority of the Opposition, insuring the election of the Opposition candidate to the United States Senate. The city of Marysville has been visited with another serious fire, and Spanishtown, on the Calaveras river, has suffered from an extensive conflagration, which consumed 150 dwellings, the whole loss amounting to $250,000.

Our accounts from the mining districts continue to be of the most encouraging character. Measures are on foot for the construction of a railroad between San Francisco and San José, with a capital of $1,500,000, of which the amount of $150,000 has been subscribed.

N. Y. Tribune.

The people of the southern part of the State are moving for a separate Territorial existence. Several papers have embarked in the movement. They say they wish a Territorial form of Government, *without any provision as to Slavery!* Mark that! The real object of the movement is now revealed. It is a plot to open the southern half of California to slave labor, and prepare the way for a new slave State on the Pacific. But, what of it? Hurrah for Compromises and Concession and the Union!

THE VOTE OF MISSISSIPPI.—The vote of Mississippi, by Congressional districts, in the recent election for members of the State Convention, was as follows:

District.	*Union.*	*State Rights.*	*Union maj.*
1. Complete	9,351	5,569	3,782
2. " ex. 1 Co.	6,748	5,057	1,691
3. "	6,250	5,628	1,622
4. " ex. 1 Co.	5,053	4,986	67
Total	28,402	21,240	7,162
	21,240		

Vote in State 49,642

SOUTH CAROLINA ELECTION.

The number of votes polled, as far as heard from, is represented by the Charleston *Courier* of the 18th instant to be as follows:

			Co-operation.	Secession.
1st Congressional district		-	2,349	1,138
2d	do.	do. -	871	260
3d	do.	do. -	3,015	2,307
4th	do.	do. -	3,300	2,363
5th	do.	do. -	2,363	1,653
6th	do.	do. -	2,824	1,359
7th	do.	do. -	1,643	2,369
Total	-	-	16,371	11,449

The majority for Co-operation out of the 27,820 votes is 4,892, from which must be deducted the Williamsburg Secession majority, and added the majorities in Anderson, Pickens, Abbeville, and Clarendon, which will give a total thus far of about 7,278 votes.

MISS ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, M. D.—We learn from a brief yet highly complimentary notice of this lady, in the New York *Tribune*, that she has lately returned to that city, and commenced the practice of her profession, at No. 44 University Place, after an absence of two years in Europe, one of which was spent as an *interne*, or house physician, at the Maternity Lying-in Hospital, and the other in the same capacity in the St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in London. Miss B. has also spent some time with Preissnitz, at Græfenberg, studying the water-cure.

From what we chance to know of Miss Dr. Blackwell, we do not hesitate to predict, that, despite of her sex, she will take a high rank in the profession for which she has qualified herself by so many years of hard study, and against obstacles which would have appalled a female of ordinary courage and self-reliance. Apart from the excellence of her scientific attainments, she is a woman of intellect, of taste, of liberal culture, and of rare amiableness—itself a noble quality in a physician. She is also a good writer, in both prose and verse.

FROM THE RIO GRANDE.—The Brownsville (Texas) newspaper, the *Rio Bravo*, of the 8th instant, says:

"We learn, from a gentleman who arrived on Monday evening on the United States steamer Corvette, that Colonel Carvajal has received large reinforcements of *efficient* troops, and is now in a situation to attack any point he may choose to assail with a perfect certainty of success. We may look for further operations shortly. Gen. Avalos is busily engaged in strengthening his fortifications at Matamoros, and the city looks almost as warlike as when General Taylor entered it in 1846."

FROM NEW MEXICO.—We announced the election of Major Richard H. Weightman as delegate to Congress from the Territory of New Mexico, but subsequent reports threw some doubt over this intelligence. We now learn by a late arrival at St. Louis that this gentleman is positively elected by five hundred majority, which will be agreeable news to many of his friends in this city.—*National Intelligencer.*

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

It is said Louis Napoleon intends to get rid of some sixty obnoxious members of the National Assembly, by prosecuting them for subscribing to Massini's Italian loan. The chances of Napoleon are said to be diminishing, and his influence on the decline.

The communication by electric telegraph between London and Paris is complete.

Lamartine comes out in his paper in a new and less favorable strain towards the President.

A respectable foreign artist, named Kellesbovar, was arrested at Paris, and kept in prison 23 days, because one of his workmen received some letters the police thought suspicious.

A French company at Martinique is about to transport into that colony 4,000 negroes from Benin and Dahomey, on the Western coast of Africa, pursuant to recent treaties with the black princes of those countries.

The *Charivari* having made fun of the reported exploits of M. Odilon Barrot in boar-hunting, the honorable representative sent the editor the last boar that had fallen before his aim.

An Arab tribe, in the outskirts of Algiers, had a quarrel with another in the great Sahara, and marched against it in two bodies—one of these made a pretended attack on the town, for the purpose of drawing out the active population, and the other penetrated into the place, and massacred every one they met.

ITALY.

The *Daily News* states the following as the number of political prisoners in Naples, as extracted from the police registers from May, 1848, to the present time. These are the round numbers, (under the actual figure,) because an exact quotation might subject many Government officials to serious annoyance.

Number of Neapolitan Political Prisoners from May, 1848, to September, 1851.

Condemned to the Ergastola - -		36
Condemned in irons to the Bagni -		1,000
Condemned in irons to the Bagni, but not yet removed from prison - -		300
Banished to the Islands after trial -		800
Banished to the Islands without trial, including the soldiers sent by royal authority to the camp of Charles Albert - - - - - - -		6,000
Accused, who have been, or still are, in prison, from May, 1849, to September, 1851, not included in the above		15,000
Total - - - - - -		23,136
Supposed number of exiles -	3,000	
Hiding from the police - -	150	
Exiled from their native towns, but still in the kingdom - -	350	
		3,500
Total number of victims of the Neapolitan Constitution - - -		26,636

The *Lombardo Veneto*, a journal published at Venice, with the sanction of the Austrian authorities, states, that at the recent consistory held at Rome, the really important questions under debate were, not those referring to appointments of bishops or cardinals, but that the main subject discussed was the probability of important events in 1852. The reception of an answer from Austria to a note forwarded to Vienna by the Government of the Holy Father was also a subject of debate. The Austrian note is described as giving the Papal Government every assurance of future peace, and an offer on the part of the Cabinet at Vienna to assist Rome with imposing forces in case events breaking out in 1852 should lead to the proclamation of a Roman Republic. In the event of such a catastrophe occurring, the Austrian Government would consider itself enabled to take this step, as the obligations contracted by the treaty of the four Catholic Powers would then be considered as null.

OHIO ELECTION RETURNS.

CINCINNATI, *October* 19, 1851.

The Ohio Senate stands 8 Whigs and 24 Democrats, two districts being yet to hear from, one of which will probably elect a Free-Soiler, and the other a Democrat. The House stands 24 Whigs, 59 Democrats, and 2 Free-Soilers. Eleven districts yet to hear from.

The official returns for Governor in all but 13 counties have been received, and if Wood, the Democratic candidate for Governor, should have the same ratio of increase in them as in the other counties, his majority in the State will not fall short of 20,000.

The Charleston *Courier* warmly commends the exquisite finish of two new carriages imported for the Charleston Hotel, from a manufactory at Concord, New Hampshire. Is this what South Carolina means by non-intercourse? *

A late number of the *London Times* says that "Great Britain has received more useful ideas and more ingenious inventions from the United States, through the Exhibition, than from all other sources!" The *Times* is the paper which, early in the season, ridiculed so unsparingly the American department of the Exhibition.

THE LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA will stand as follows: Senate, 16 Democrats, 16 Whigs, one Native. The Native is from Philadelphia county. In the House there will be 54 Democrats and 46 Whigs.

One of the Whig candidates for the Supreme Bench, the Hon. Richard Coulter, is undoubtedly elected, in consequence of Mr. Campbell (Dem.) running behind his ticket.

THE GERMAN PATRIOT FUND.—We see it stated that double twenty thousand dollars has already been raised by Dr. Kinkel, since his brief sojourn amidst us. The Italians have already raised two millions of dollars, which are now on deposit in a London bank, subject to the control of the revolutionary Democrats, who are preparing to blow up the crowned tyrants of the old world.

NOT BEATEN, BUT BETRAYED—WHO DEFEATED GOV. JOHNSTON?

A FEW CALM WORDS TO THE WHIGS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The result of Tuesday's election will greatly surprise the honest Whigs of Pennsylvania. All the indications of victory were with us. All the issues of the campaign were in our favor. We had a leader whose previous Administration had been faultless. That leader worked faithfully in the canvass, was well received by the people, and made a good impression upon the people. The true friends of Governor Johnston were active, and all that men could honestly do was done to procure his election. In they were sustained by many of the other party who were satisfied with his stewardship, and were opposed to a change. Why, then, was he defeated? This is an important question, to which the attention of the Whig party may well be invited. Why, with such a leader, with such issues, with such arguments, with such efforts, and such an organization, was Governor Johnston defeated? The answer is plain. Governor Johnston was overthrown in this contest, not by the efforts of the Locofoco party, but by the secret though effective treachery of professed Whigs—men, too, in the interest and favor of the present National Administration. This is the truth, and we mean that the people shall know it.

The *Pennsylvanian* of October 15th, in announcing the result of the election, uses the following significant language:

"*Aided by a number of National Whigs*, who would not be whipped in, in this locality, we have won a victory that we may wear as one of our most brilliant and most unfading honors."

This exposes the game which was played. "National Whigs," as they are called, have aided the Locofocos and defeated the great Whig party of the State. And who are these "National Whigs?" They are men who wish to introduce a new test to party fidelity—to forget all old principles, and to sacrifice all men who will not agree to surrender the freedom of speech at the tyrannical bidding of a neighbor.

In 1848 the Whig National Convention nominated Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore as the standard-bearers of the Whig party in that contest. The nomination of Gen. Taylor was effected after a severe struggle. Wm F. Johnston was a member of that Convention. *It was at his suggestion that the Pennsylvania Delegation cast their votes for Millard Fillmore.* In consequence of that nomination, Mr. Fillmore was elected Vice President, and in consequence of that election he is now the President of the United States. After the Convention adjourned in 1848, Wm. F. Johnston became the Whig candidate for Governor of this State. He canvassed the State with untiring industry, and it was due to his efforts mainly that Pennsylvania voted for Gen. Taylor and Millard Fillmore, and *thereby made them the President and Vice President of the United States.* How does Mr. Fillmore requite these efforts? We will tell the public. Mr. Fillmore, we believe, is not personally hostile to Gov. Johnston. We believe he is too honest a man utterly to forsake and seek to ruin the men and party to whom he owes his present place. But we do know that he retains in his Cabinet a man who has publicly, *and within the limits of our own State, expressed an earnest hope that Governor Johnston would be defeated.* This is an undoubted fact, and is within the knowledge of many of the best citizens of Pennsylvania. *Daniel Webster is the man who has thus deserted the Whig party of the State, and plotted to secure the defeat of its nominee.* We say this with regret, but we KNOW it to be true, and we wish the people of the State to understand that through the hostility of men like Mr. Webster the Whig party of Pennsylvania is now in a minority. *Mr. Fillmore is and was aware of this hostility.* How far, therefore, he is responsible for the result of these schemes, we leave a candid public to judge.

Mr. Webster has had his agents and wire-workers in different parts of the State. They were generally men of but little character, who could never have accomplished their object had they not taken the precaution to conceal their bitter hatred under the garb of extreme friendship. They were hypocritical as well as treacherous. We will leave these men to their reflections, and to the sure and just punishment which certainly awaits them. We trust that Mr. Cooper and his numerous and tricky confederates will feel amply rewarded if our defeat now should defeat the party throughout the Union in the Presidential contest next year, and paralyze us in this State for a long time to come. The vote of Philadelphia, Schuylkill, Northampton, and other counties where these assassins reside, shows their fidelity to the men honored with the confidence of the Whig party of the State. In one ward in Harrisburg, where most of the traitors lived and have sympathizers, fifteen Whig tickets were voted in which Gov. Johnston's name was erased, and Mr. Bigler's substituted. In another ward and an adjoining township, the same course was pursued. And elsewhere in the State, where the same influence reached, the same result followed.

We therefore wish the Whigs of Pennsylvania to understand that this State has fallen into the hands of the Opposition, because the National Administration, and most of its special friends, determined that Governor Johnston must be defeated, and the Whig party sacrificed; that large numbers of Locofocos—there being nineteen in one ward of Harrisburg—voted for Governor Johnston; that this vote was more than overbalanced by defection in the Whig ranks; that this defection was owing to the intrigues of certain members of the Cabinet and their assistants in this State; that Governor Johnston, if the entire Whig party had been true, would have been elected by an overwhelming majority; and that Governor Johnston was defeated by the most shameless and infamous treachery.

We make these remarks because the occasion demands they should be made. While every friend of the State Administration will cherish in his heart of hearts those trusty and honest Whigs who were true as steel to their standard-bearer, every honest man will as heartily detest the ignoble and dastardly traitors who were afraid of an open field and a fair fight, and who proved their courage by stabbing in the dark. All honor to Governor Johnston! He stands before the people an honest man, stricken down by men who owe their positions to his labors.

The *Pennsylvania Statesman*, of the same date, (16th,) has the following:

"*Johnston in Schuylkill.*—The majority given to Bigler in Schuylkill county is easily to be accounted for. It is clear that the Locofocos here, when they said that they were advised to bet on it by Mr. Cooper, knew their man. A letter, dated Pottsville, October 10, published in *The Philadelphia Ledger* of Wednesday, the 15th, says that '*At a Democratic meeting held on Thursday last, Mr. Cooper received three hearty cheers.*'"

This is easily understood. No one will pretend to say that Mr. Cooper was cheered at a Locofoco meeting for supporting the Whig ticket or Whig principles.—*Harrisburg American.*

THE FRIEND OF YOUTH.

The last number of the second volume of the FRIEND OF YOUTH has been mailed to subscribers. The next number, to be issued on the first week of November, will commence a new volume, which of course will be sent only to those who remit their subscriptions in advance.

The same corps of contributors that has made the Friend of Youth so attractive hitherto, is engaged for the ensuing volume. Subscribers ought to renew without delay, and the publisher hopes to receive many new names.

The principal original articles in the present number are—

The Frigid Zone, a Poem; A story of Hungary, by Mary Irving; Books and Play, editorial; an Incident and Reflection, do.; The Little Tease, do.; Bread, do.; Luigi, a True Story, by Martha Russell; Reply to Master Eck's Letter, &c.

The selections are tastefully made. Terms of the paper—50 cents a year for a single copy, five copies for $2.

DOMESTIC MARKETS.

BALTIMORE, *October* 20, 1851.

Beef Cattle.—There were offered at the scales, to-day, 1,200 head of beeves, 825 head of which were sold to city butchers and packers, at prices ranging from $2 to $3 per 100 lbs. on the hoof—equal to $4 a $4.75 net, and averaging $2.56 gross. The balance were driven Northward.

Hogs.—There is a good supply. We quote live hogs at $6 a $6.50 per 100 lbs.

Flour and Meal.—The flour market is quiet to-day. Sales of 300 barrels Howard Street brands at $3.87 1-2, and 600 City Mills at $3.31 1-4. Rye flour, $3.50. Corn meal, $3 per bbl.

Grain.—The grain market is quiet, and prices of wheat without change. We quoted good to prime red at 70 to 75 cents, and ordinary to good 65 to 70. White wheat is selling at 75 to 84 cents, as to quality. Corn has declined; we quote white at 55 a 56 cents, and yellow at 55 cents. Oats, 30 a 33. Rye, 64 cents. Clover seed, $5 a $5.50.

Groceries.—The market is steady. Small sales of Rio coffee at 8 a 8 3-4 cents. But little doing in sugars and molasses; prices unchanged.

Provisions.—The pork market is dull, and we note a decline. Sales of 100 barrels mess at $16.31 1-4 cash; prime, $13.87 1-2. Bacon steady; sales of shoulders at 9 a 9 1-4 cents; sides, 10 3-4 a 11 cents; hams, 10 1-2 a 11. Lard, 9 1-2 cents in barrels; kegs, 10 3-4.

Wool.—Small sales of unwashed common at 16 a 18 cents; washed, 26 a 27 cents. Market dull.

Tobacco.—Sales at last week's prices. Holders firm.

NEW YORK, *October* 20, 1851.

Flour is on the advance. Sales of 12,000 barrels at $3.81 1-4 a $3.87 1-2 for State brands, and $4 a 4.25 for Southern. Rye flour, $3.31. Corn meal, $3.31 a $3.37 1-2. Fair wheat is in demand at previous rates. Sales of 30,000 bushels mixed corn at 56 a 57 cents. Rye, 70 cents; oats, 40 cents. Provisions are firm. Sales of 300 barrels new mess pork at $15.25; moss beef, $8.75 a $11. Sales of 200 barrels lard at 9 cents. Groceries are steady. Rio coffee, 8 5-8 cents; sales of 100 hhds. Porto Rico molasses at 26 a 28 cents. Cotton is quiet but steady. Sales to-day of 800 bales. The cattle market is unchanged.

MOUNT UNION SEMINARY AND NORMAL SCHOOL.

This institution, located at Mount Union, Stark county, Ohio, will continue its sessions under the direction of the Board of Teachers, consisting of O. N. Hartshorn, A. B., Principal and Proprietor; Ira O. Chapman, A. B.; E. N. Johnson, jr.; and Artemas E. Ward.

The year is divided into three Terms, as follows: the Fall Term of twelve weeks commences on the second Tuesday in August; the Winter term of sixteen weeks commences on the second Tuesday in November; and the Spring Term of fourteen weeks commences on the last Tuesday in March.

The building formerly used proved unsuitable for the rapidly increasing demands of the School, but a new and *convenient* two story building, sixty by forty five feet, has been recently erected, and the entire work is now completed.

The Seminary is furnished with an excellent set of Philosophical, Chemical, and Astronomical Apparatus, Mathematical Instruments, Pelton's Outline Maps, an Atlas of History, Cutter's Anatomical Plates, a small Manikin, and a choice Cabinet of Minerals and Geological Specimens. Arrangements have been made with a practical Surveyor, residing in the place, for the use of a full set of Surveyor's Instruments.

Courses of Lectures on Natural and Moral Science, each Term of the year.

Normal School.—For the benefit of those who may have in view that highly honorable and eminently useful, but too much neglected, profession of the Common School Teacher, the authorities of this Institution have recently established a School for Teachers, and sustain a Model Class. In this Class, Teachers will have an opportunity to witness the progress of the children under the most approved systems of instruction, and can also test their own abilities as teachers. In addition to teaching in the Model Class, the Teachers will meet daily during the Term, to attend Lectures on the modes of teaching and governing a School; the nature, importance, and dignity, of the Teacher's calling, &c.

Tuition per Quarter of twelve weeks.

Orthography, Reading, Penmanship, and Geography $2 00

Arithmetic, English Grammar, Book Keeping, Rhetoric and Logic, Elements of Criticism, Mental Philosophy, and Physiology - - - - - $3 00

The Natural and Moral Sciences, the Higher Branches of Mathematics, Political Economy, International Law, the Latin, Greek, and Elements of the French, Languages - - - - - - - $4 00

The charge for Tuition must be settled in advance, either by actual settlement or satisfactory arrangements. If payment be delayed until the end of the Term, fifty cents more will be charged. In case that it becomes necessary for a student to leave before the expiration of the Term, the balance on tuition fee will be refunded.

Students who purpose to graduate in the *Scientific Course of Study*, specified in the Annual Catalogue, are requested to signify the same when entering.

Particular attention will be given to the development and discipline of the Moral Faculties, as well as to the comfort, health, and intellectual training of the students; but no effort is made—none ever will be made—to teach the peculiarities of any sect.

Connected with the Seminary is a regularly organized *Literary Society*, and also a *Teachers' Association*.

Ladies are admitted to all the privileges of the Institution; their studying room is separate from the gentlemen's, yet they recite with them so far as they are pursuing the same studies.

Board can be had in families at a price varying from seventy-five cents to one dollar and twenty-five cents per week.

It is deemed proper to state that in a few days a large and convenient Boarding House will be finished, to be under the direction of D. W. Hastings and Lady, whose skillful and prudent management of so responsible a charge enables the Board of Instruction to commend it to public confidence. At this house the expenses for board will not exceed one dollar and twenty-five cents per week, including fuel, lights, and a room convenient to accommodate from two to four persons.

The conduct of the students at the boarding house and at some of the private families will be under the immediate inspection of the Principal.

Work can be furnished to young men wishing by Manual Labor to defray a portion of their expenses.

The Seminary has a pleasant, healthy, and moral location, in the village of Mount Union, sixteen miles eastward of Canton, Ohio, on the public road leading from Wooster to Wellsville, and is situated on very high ground, within one mile and a half of the place where the Cleveland and Pittsburg railroad *crosses* the Ohio and Pennsylvania railroad. The country around it is elevated, fertile, and healthy almost without a parallel.

Books and Stationery can be had in the place.

A. M. GANGEWER,

Attorney and Agent, Washington City, D. C.,

ATTENDS to claims for Pensions, Bounty Land, Extra Pay, and Arrearages of Pay, and the settlement of Accounts before the several Departments of the Government.

References.—Hon. S. P. Chase, Ohio; Hon. D. Wilmot, Pennsylvania; Hon. O. Cole, Wisconsin; Hon. Ellis Lewis, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Gen. Edward Armor, Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Dr. G. Bailey, Editor National Era; and the accounting officers generally. June 5—6m

OUR THREE JOURNALS.

The AMERICAN PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL, the WATER-CURE JOURNAL, and THE STUDENT, are published monthly, each at *one dollar a year*, in advance, by FOWLERS & WELLS, New York.

The PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL is devoted to the Moral and Intellectual development of Man. Psychology, Magnetism, Physiognomy, and all that relates to MIND, may be found in this publication.

The WATER-CURE JOURNAL is devoted to Hydropathy, Physiology, and the laws which govern life and health, including Dietetics, together with the philosophy and practice of Water Cure.

The STUDENT is designed for Children and Youth—to be used in schools and families. It is devoted to Education, Natural History, (with illustrative engravings,) to Biography, Music, Phonography, and the Natural Sciences generally. It is probably the best Educational Serial published in this country.

To obtain either or all of these periodicals, please enclose the amount of $1 for each in a letter, and direct the same, post paid, to

FOWLERS & WELLS,

Oct. 9—4t No. 131 Nassau street, New York.

THE GENIUS OF LIBERTY.

TERMS.—The Genius of Liberty is published monthly for $1 per year, in advance.

CLUBS.—Six copies for $5; ten copies for 8; and twenty copies for $15.

COMMUNICATIONS AND MONEYS must be directed to the "Genius of Liberty, Cincinnati, Ohio, Box No. 552," post paid.

The Editor's office is No. 18 Main street.

WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY.

One of the most important discoveries of modern science, for the cure of pulmonary affections, is the Balsam of Wild Cherry, and the credit of its discovery is due to the celebrated Dr. Wistar. This valuable compound has restored thousands of sufferers to health. It is expectorant, tonic, and demulcent, and is said to be purely a vegetable preparation. Under its magic influence, the most obstinate coughs, colds, and bronchial irritations, disappear. We have used it, and can recommend it, particularly at this season, when the great cause of disease, east winds, are so prevalent.

THE ORIGINAL AND ONLY GENUINE

DR. WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY

Was introduced in the year 1838, and has been well tested in all the complaints for which it is recommended. For ten years it has proved more efficacious, as a remedy for coughs, colds, influenza, bronchitis, asthma, and consumption in its incipient stages, than any other medicine.

From the Dedham (Mass) Gazette, Feb 18, 1849

The introduction of this famous medicine to the public, by Seth W. Fowle, has been of more service, probably, than any other article that has yet been discovered, and has effected more cures of various complaints "that flesh is heir to," than all the miserable compounds that have ever as yet been trumpeted throughout the country. The numerous certificates in his advertisement fully substantiate the virtues of it.

Look out for Imitations and Counterfeits.

Remember, the only original and genuine article always bears the written signature of *I. BUTTS* on the outside wrapper.

Originally prepared by Williams & Co., Philadelphia; now prepared and sold, Wholesale and Retail, only by *SETH W. FOWLE*, Boston, Mass., to whom all orders should be addressed, and for sale by his agents throughout the country.

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OFFICE FOR PATENTS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Z. C. ROBBINS, *Solicitor of Patents*, will prepare the necessary Drawings and Papers for applicants for patents and transact all other business in the line of his profession at the Patent Office. He can be consulted on all questions relating to the patent laws and decisions in the United States or Europe. He will procure re hearings on rejected applications for patents, prepare new papers, and obtain patents in all cases where there is any novelty. Persons at a distance, desirous of having examinations made at the Patent Office, prior to making application for a patent, may forward (post paid, enclosing a fee of five dollars) a clear statement of their case when immediate attention will be given to it, and all the information that could be obtained by a visit of the applicant in person, relating to the novelty of their invention and the requisite steps to be taken to obtain a patent therefor, (should it prove to be new) will be promptly forwarded to them by mail.

All letters on business must be post paid, and enclose a suitable fee where a written opinion is required.

☞ Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.

He has the honor of referring, by permission to Hon H. L. Ellsworth and Hon. Edmund Burke, late Commissioners of Patents, and to those for whom he has transacted business during the past seven years. Oct. 23

FARM NEAR WASHINGTON FOR SALE.

THE subscriber offers for sale his Farm, situated about five miles from Washington, in Prince George's county, Maryland. It contains 178 1-2 acres, above 30 of which is a fine alluvial meadow, producing at present a ton and a half of hay to the acre, but which under improved cultivation would produce at least two tons. Hay sells in the Washington market at from $15 to $20 per ton. About four acres of the place is a marsh covered with several feet in thickness of black earth, the result of decayed vegetation, which, properly composted, is a source from which the upland may be enriched at a reasonable cost. About 60 acres of woodland—growth principally oak and chestnut. The land, except the meadow, is undulating, and has many pretty sites for building. There are many springs of excellent water on the place, and it is noted for its healthfulness. The soil of the greater part is a sandy loam, underlaid by clay—in some places, clay predominating. About 75 acres could be divided into small gardening farms, giving nearly an equal quantity of wood and arable land to each. There is an orchard of 150 peach trees and 60 apple trees on the place, all bearing; also, about 200 apple trees, ready for grafting. It is well fenced. The buildings are—a log house of four rooms, with a frame addition of three rooms, a meat house of sun dried brick, a log-kitchen separate from the dwelling, a corn house stable, carriage house, &c. There is a stream of water running through the place, with sufficient water and fall for a small mill. Price — $40 per acre. Terms — one third cash; a long credit for the residue if desired. Address

Oct. 23 MARTIN BUELL, Washington, D. C.

SOLDIERS' CLAIMS.

I AM still engaged in the prosecution of claims against the Government. Such of the soldiers of the Mexican war, or their heirs, as have filed claims to bounty land, and had them suspended or rejected, or who have not applied, will do well to open a correspondence with me, as I can obtain their land in almost every instance. There are about 15,000 such claims on file in the Pension Office, nearly every one of which I can have allowed if authorized to act for the claimant. "A word to the wise is sufficient."

☞ Suspended claims under act of September 28, 1850, also successfully prosecuted, and no fee will be charged in any case unless land is procured. Address

Sept 25. A. M. GANGEWER, Washington, D. C.

SHATTUCK HARTWELL,

ATTORNEY and Counsellor at Law, Notary Public, and Commissioner of Deeds for Kentucky and Massachusetts. Office on north side of Third street, near Main, one door east of Franklin Bank, Cincinnati, O. Sept 25.

POWERS & SEATON,

ATTORNEYS and *Counsellors at Law, and Solicitors in Chancery*, Youngstown, Mahoning county, Ohio.

R. J. POWERS.
Sept. 26 G. W. SEATON

LIGHT'S LITERARY AGENCY,

No. 3 Cornhill, Boston,

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The Independent—weekly. Edited by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., and others; Rev. George B. Cheever and Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, stated Contributors. Received by Express from New York, and delivered by carriers at $2.50 a year, free of postage; single numbers, 6 cents. Price by mail, $2.

The Friend of Youth, a superior monthly journal for the Young, edited by Mrs. M. L. Bailey, Washington. Price, delivered free of postage, 62 1-2 cents a year; by mail, 50 cents.

The Oberlin Evangelist—semi-monthly. Price, $1 a year. (All the Oberlin Books also for sale, wholesale and retail, at this Agency.)

Also, the Boston Publishing Office for

The New Englander, a quarterly journal, commanding the first order of talent, and taking a liberal view of the Progressive movements of the age, religious and secular. It holds itself free to treat on every subject that may be presumed to be interesting to intelligent Christian men; and to such men, in every profession and position, it addresses itself. Edited by a Committee, including some of the best minds of New Haven. Each volume begins in February. Price, $3 a year; single numbers, 75 cents.

☞ Subscriptions and renewals to the above Periodicals, and orders for all useful books, solicited by

May 1. G. W. LIGHT, 3 Cornhill.

BENNETT'S NATIONAL SKY-LIGHT GALLERY

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One door east of Z. D. Gilman's Drug Store.

EXHIBITION FREE

TO meet the increasing patronage of this establishment, the Sitting and Exhibition Rooms have been enlarged, and fitted up in a style second to none in this country.

It was necessary, also, to have more assistance in the operating department; and I have therefore associated with me Mr. F. M. Cory, from New York, which will enable us to maintain the present popularity of this Gallery.

Some valuable additions to the collection of specimens have been recently made, among which we will mention that of *JENNY LIND*, taken from life; one of *AMIN BEY*, the Turkish Envoy; and one, from a Daguerreotype taken in Rome, of Powers's statue of *JOHN C. CALHOUN*.

The collection of the United States Senate intended for exhibition at the World's Fair, to be held in London in May next, will be complete in a few days, a part of which may be seen at this time.

Having a superior Sky-Light, and one of the best German Cameras, capable of taking portraits twelve times the usual size, and twice the size of any in this city, together with a constant and successful practice for the last twelve years, we feel confident in being able to furnish Daguerreotypes to those who may want them, which, for beauty of tone, clearness of impression, life like expression, grace and ease of position, cannot be surpassed.

By a new and improved process practiced at this establishment, we are enabled to take pictures in the short space of one second, enabling parents to supply themselves with perfect Daguerreotypes of their little ones, of all ages.

☞ Miniatures neatly set in lockets, breastpins, finger rings, and settings furnished, if desired.

N. S. BENNETT.
Jan. 2. F. M. CORY.

GENERAL BANKING AND EXCHANGE BUSINESS.

COPARTNERSHIP.—The undersigned respectfully announce to the public that they have entered into copartnership for the transaction of a general Exchange and Banking business in the city of Washington, under the firm of

SELDEN, WITHERS, & CO.

All business intrusted to them will be attended to with promptness and fidelity.

WILLIAM SELDEN, late Treasurer U. States.
JOHN WITHERS, of Alexandria, Virginia.
R. W. LATHAM, of the City of Washington.
L. P. BAYNE, of Baltimore, Maryland.

Jan. 3.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ADDRESS OF KOSSUTH TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Oct.* 17, 1851.

To the Editors of the Public Press of the U. States:

GENTLEMEN: In the month of February last, Governor L. Ujhazi, late of Hungary, sent me a proclamation of the Hungarian leader, Louis Kossuth, addressed to the people of these United States, requesting to cause the same to be published, and to deposite its original, written in the Magyar language, in the archives of Congress.

When that valuable document came to my hands, a negotiation was pending, having for its object the liberation of Kossuth from the Turkish custody. This consideration induced me to consult confidentially with a number of distinguished citizens, occupying high and exalted stations, whom I new to be the truest and warmest friends of the Hungarian cause and its great leader; and finding that each of them concurred with me in the opinion that the publication of that document at that time might have defeated the object of the negotiation, I informed Governor Ujhazi of it; whereupon he authorized me to retain in my possession its original until it could be safely published.

This time has now arrived. The great Hungarian leader being already under the protection of the stars and stripes, and approaching these hospitable shores, there is no necessity of withholding it longer from the public eye.

Having set forth the foregoing explanation of reasons why the proclamation referred to was not laid sooner before the people of these United States, to whom it is addressed, I respectfully beg for it the liberalty of your columns.

The original of the proclamation will remain in my possession until the next session of Congress, when it will be respectfully deposited within the hands of the representatives of the people.

I have the honor to remain, with great respect, your obedient fellow-citizen and servant,

G. TOCHMAN.

[TRANSLATION.]

Address of Kossuth to the People of the United States of North America.

Two years ago, by God's providence, I, who would be only an humble citizen, held in my hands the destiny of the reigning house of Austria.

Had I been ambitious, or had I believed that this treacherous family were so basely wicked, as they afterwards proved themselves to be, the tottering pillars of their throne would have fallen at my command, and buried the crowned traitors beneath their ruins, or would have scattered them like dust before a tempest, homeless exiles, bearing nothing but the remembrance of their perfidy, and that royalty which they ought to have lost through their own wickedness.

I, however, did not take advantage of these favorable circumstances, though the entire freedom of my dear native land was the only wish of my heart. My requests were of that moderate nature which, in the condition of Hungary and Europe, seemed best fitted for my countrymen. I asked of the King, not the complete independence of my beloved country—not even any new rights or privileges—but simply these three things:

First. That the inalienable rights sanctioned by a thousand years, and by the constitution of my fatherland, should be guarantied by a national and responsible administration.

Second. That every inhabitant of my country, without regarding language or religion, should be free and equal before the law—all classes having the same privileges and protection from the law.

Third. That all the people of the Austrian Empire that acknowledged the same persons as Emperor whom we Hungarians recognised as King, and the same law of succession, should have restored their ancient constitutional rights, of which they had been unjustly despoiled, modified to suit their wants and the spirit of the age.

The first demand was not for any new grant or concession, but simply a fresh guarantee. In the arrangement made with our ancestors, when, by their free will, they elevated the house of Hapsburg to the throne, a condition was made that the King should preserve the independence and constitution of the country. This independence and this constitution were the very vitality of our national being. During three centuries, twelve Kings of the House of Hapsburg had sworn, in the presence of the eternal God, before ascending the throne, that they would preserve our independence and the constitution; and their lives is but a history of perpetual and accursed perjury. Yet such conduct did not weaken our fidelity. No nation ever manifested more faithfulness to their rulers. And though we poor Hungarians made endless sacrifices, often at the expense of our national welfare—though these Kings in times of peace drew their support from us, and in times of or and danger relied upon the unconquerable strength of our army—though we ever trusted in their words—they deceived us a thousand times, and made our condition worse.

While other nations were able to apply all their energies to promote the general welfare and to develope their means of happiness, we had to stand on guard, like the watchmen mentioned in Scripture, for three centuries, to prevent our treacherous Kings from destroying entirely the foundation of our national existence—our constitution and independence.

I, as the representative of my countrymen, asked nothing more than a constitutional ministry, whose responsibility would prevent the King from violating his oath.

The second demand was still less for any political right. We asked for nothing more than a reform in the internal administration of the State—a simple act of justice which the aristocracy owed the people. And in this how much the King would have gained! The strength of his throne would have been increased tenfold by thus winning the affections of his faithful people.

The third demand was prompted by humanity and fraternal feeling. It was the proper and holy mission of our nation, as the oldest member of the empire, and possessing a constitutional form of Government, to raise its voice in behalf of those sister nations under the same ruler, and who were united to us by so many ties of relationship. Lovers of freedom, we would not ask liberty for ourselves alone; we would not boast of privileges that others did not enjoy, but desired to be free, in fellowship with free nations around us. This motive was inspired by the conviction that two crowns—a constitutional and a despotic crown—could not be worn by the same head—no more than two opposing dispositions can harmonize in the same breast, or that a man can be good and evil at the same time.

The King and royal family granted these requests, appealing to the sanctity of their oaths as a guarantee of their fulfilment; and I, weak in myself, but strong through the confidence of my countrymen and the noble sympathy of the Austrian people, proclaimed everywhere, amidst the raging storm of revolution, that, "the house of Austria should stand; for, by the blessing of the Almighty, it had begun to move in the right direction, and would be just to its people." It stood, and stood, too, at a time when, whatever might have been the fate of Hungary, the revolutionary tempest under my direction would have blown away this antiquated and helpless dynasty like chaff before the winds of heaven.

I not only preserved the house of Austria, but placed in its hands the materials of a long and glorious future—the foundation of an indestructible power in the affection of thirty-two millions of people. I tendered them the fidelity and assistance of my own heroic Hungary, which alone was able to defend them against the assaults of the world. I afforded them the glorious opportunity—more glorious than had ever been presented before—of establishing an impregnable barrier to protect freedom, civilization, and progress, against the Cossack power which now threatens Europe. To attain this honor, this glory, one thing only was necessary—that they should remain faithful to their oaths. But when was it that Austria was not treacherous? We look in vain for as much honor as is found even among robbers in the Hapsburg family.

On the very day they signed the grant of those moderate demands of the Hungarian people, and solemnly swore before God and the nation to maintain them, they secretly resolved and planned the most cruel conspiracy against us. They determined to break their oaths, to desolate the land with insurrection, conflagration, and blood, till, feeble and exhausted under the burden of a thousand miseries, Hungary might be struck from the roll of living nations. They then hoped, by the power of the bayonet, and, if necessary, by the arms of Russia, to erect a united and consolidated empire, like the Russian, of sixteen various nations; they hoped to realize their long-conceived purpose of making themselves an absolute power.

Never were so many hellish arts used against a nation before. Not suspecting a counter-revolution or an attack, we were not prepared to defend ourselves, when suddenly we were surprised by danger. The perfidious Hapsburgs, destitute of all shame, and rejoicing in the anticipation of an easy victory, hesitated not to disclose before the civilized world their horrible plans—to subjugate us by the force of arms, to excite hatred of race, to call in the aid of robbers, incendiaries, and reckless insurgents.

At this crisis of great danger, when many of our ablest men even were ready to yield themselves to this decree of destruction, I stood among those who called the nation to arms. And, confiding in a just God, we cursed the cowards who were preparing to abandon their native land, to submit to a wicked despotism, and to purchase a miserable existence by sacrificing liberty. I called the nation to arms in self-defence. I acted not with blind presumption; and emotions of despair found no place in my breast—for he who despairs is not fit to guide a people. I estimated the valor and power of my country, and on the verge of a fearful struggle I had faith to promise victory if Hungary would remain true to herself, and fortify her breast with the impulsive fire of a strong will.

To sustain the stern resolution to combat such an enemy, we were supported—first, above everything, by our unshaken confidence in God, whose ways are past finding out, but who supports the right, and blesses the cause of an honest people fighting for freedom; secondly, by a love of country and the holy desire of liberty, which make the child a giant, and increase the strength of the valiant; and, thirdly, by your example, noble Americans!—you, the chosen nation of the God of Liberty! My countrymen—a religious, a God-venerating people—in whose hearts burned the all-powerful feeling of patriotism, were inspired by the influence of your sublime example.

Free citizens of America! from your history, as from the star of hope in midnight gloom, we drew our confidence and resolution in the doubtful days of severe trial. Accept, in the name of my countrymen, this declaration, as a tribute of gratitude. And you, excellent people, who were worthy to be chosen by the Almighty as an example to show the world how to deserve freedom, how to win it, and how to use it—you will allow that the Hungarians, though weaker and less fortunate than you, through the decaying influences of the old European society, are not unworthy to be your imitators, and that you would be pleased to see the stars of your glorious flag emblazon the double cross of the Hungarian coat-of-arms. When despotism hurled defiance at us, and began the bloody war, your inspiring example upheaved the nation as one man, and legions, with all the means of war, appeared to rise from nothing, as the tender grass shoots up after spring showers.

Though we were inferior in numbers to the enemy, and could not compare with their well-trained forces—though our arms were shorter than theirs—yet the heroic sons of Hungary supplied the want of numbers by indomitable bravery, and lengthened their weapons by a step further in advance.

The world knows how bravely the Hungarians fought. And it is not for me, who was identified with the war—who, obeying the wishes of the nation, stood faithfully at the helm of Government—to extol the heroic deeds of my countrymen. I may mention, however, that, while every day it became more evident that the heart of Europe beat to the pulsations of the Hungarian struggle, we maintained the unequal conflict alone, cut off from the rest of the world and all external aid, till a year ago we laid the haughty power of the tyrant house of Hapsburg in the dust; and had it not been for the intentional and traitorous disregard of my command by one of our leaders, who afterwards shamefully betrayed the country, not only would the Imperial family have been driven from Vienna, but the entire Austrian nation would have been liberated; and though by such treason this base family saved themselves from destruction, they were so far humbled in March, 1849, that, not knowing how to be just, they implored foreign aid, and threw themselves at the feet of the Czar.

The Emperor hoped that the Hungarian people could be terrified by his threatenings, and would prefer slavery to death; but he was deceived. He sold his own liberty to Russia for aid to enslave his people. The choice of a coward is to purchase a miserable, ephemeral existence, even though at the cost of his honor and independence.

The Austrians fought against us, not only with arms and by the aid of traitors, but with studied and unceasing slander. They never ceased to impeach our motives and falsify our conduct, and vaunt the pretended justice of their own cause before the judgment seat of public opinion. Efforts were constantly made to weaken among the people of Hungary, and among the nations of the world, that sympathy and force which spring from a righteous cause.

Free citizens of North America! you have given, in spite of these slanders, the fullest sympathy for the cause of my country. We had no opportunity to explain to you our motives and conduct, and refute the libels against us; but we said—and how truly your noble and magnanimous conduct shows it!—that such a nation knows how to defend a just and holy cause, and will give us its sympathy; and this conviction inspired us with more confidence. Oh, that you had been a neighboring nation! the Old World would now be free, and would not have to endure again those terrible convulsions and rivers of blood which are inevitable. But the end is with God, and He will choose the means to fulfil its purposes.

Ye great and free people! receive the thanks of my country for your noble sympathy, which was a great moral support in our terrible conflict.

When the house of Austria sold itself to the Autocrat, we, who were fatigued with our hard-earned victory, but not subdued or exhausted, saw with apprehension the spectre of Russian invasion—an invasion which violated the laws of nations, which was openly hostile to the cause of civilization, the rights of man, of order, and even to that principle which the diplomacy of Europe calls "the balance of power." I could not believe that the Governments of Europe would permit this invasion; for I expected they would intervene to effect a treaty of peace, if not so much on our account, yet to prevent Austria becoming the vassal of Russia—to check the growing strength and influence of the latter Power in the East.

We desired an honorable peace, and were willing to submit to any reasonable terms. We many times tendered the olive-branch. We asked the constitutional Governments of Europe to interpose. They heard us not. The haughty Imperial family, forgetting that they were the real traitors, rejected every proposition, with the defying expression that they "did not treat with rebels." Aye, more: they threw our ambassadors into prison, and one of them—the noblest of Hungary's sons—they cowardly and impiously murdered. Still we hesitated to tear asunder forever the bonds that united us. Ten months we fought, and fought victoriously, in defence; and it was only when every attempt to bring about an honorable peace failed—when Francis Joseph, who was never our King, dared in his manifesto of the 4th of March, 1849, to utter the curse *"that Hungary should exist no longer"*—when there was no hope of arresting the Russian invasion by diplomacy—when we saw that we must fight to save ourselves from being struck off the earth as a nation—when the house of Austria, by its endless acts of injustice and cruelty, and by calling in the aid of a foreign Power, had extinguished in the hearts of the Hungarian people every spark of affection—then, and then only, after so much patience, the nation resolved to declare its absolute independence. Then spoke the National Assembly the words which had long been uttered by every patriotic tongue: *"Francis Joseph! thou beardless young Nero! thou darest to say, Hungary shall exist no more! We, the people, answer, We do and will exist; but you and your treacherous house shall stand no longer! You shall no more be Kings of Hungary!* Be forever banished, ye perfidious traitors to the nation!"

We were not only ready to accept any terms that were honorable, but we carefully abstained from doing anything which would give the Czar a pretence, which he had long sought, to meddle with our affairs.

The Hungarian nation loved freedom as the best gift of God, but it never thought of commencing a crusade against Kings in the name of liberty. In Hungary there were none of those propagandists who alarm so much the rulers of the Old World. There were no secret societies plotting conspiracies. My countrymen were not influenced by the theories of communists or socialists; nor were they what the conservatives call anarchists. The nation desired justice, and knew how to be just to all, irrespective of rank, language, or religion. A people so worthy of freedom were generous enough to leave something to time, and to be satisfied with a progressive development. No violence was used; no just right was attacked; and even some of those institutions were left undisturbed, which, in their principle and origin, were unjust, but which, having existed for centuries, could not be abolished at once with impunity.

The Hungarian people did not wish to oppress any—not even the aristocracy; they were more ready to make sacrifices than to punish the descendants of nobility for the evils of misgovernment, and of those institutions which emanated from their ancestors; nor would they let the many suffer for the sins of the few.

There was no anarchy among us. Even in the bloodiest conflicts, when the human passions are most excited, there was the most perfect order and security of property and person. How did the conduct of my noble countrymen compare with that of the "order-making" Austria! Whenever the whirlwind of war ceased for a while where the social elements were left in chaos, the instinctive moral feelings of this incorruptible people, in the absence of all government, preserved better order and safety than legions of police. A common spirit animated the whole nation—no secret aims, no personal or local attacks, but a bold and open defence in the face of the world. Following the example of your great Washington, we adopted, as our policy, conciliation, justice, and legality, and scrupulously observed the laws of nations.

The Russians and Austrians made the soil of Wallachia the basis of military operations; and the Turkish Government, which either knew not its own interests, or was unable to defend them, silently permitted this violation of treaties and the rights of nations, thus humbling itself and betraying its own weakness. Several times we drove our enemies across the Wallachian boundaries; for it was only necessary for our victorious army to advance into the countries of the Lower Danube to rouse the inhabitants against the Russians, and to transfer the war to their own soil. But we respected the law of nations, and stopped our conquering forces on the confines of Wallachia. Her soil was sacred to us. Austria left Gallacia almost unprotected, and collected all her forces to attack us. Had we at this time sent a small portion of our army to Poland, it would have caused a general insurrection, and that heroic but unfortunate nation would have revenged herself by throwing the Russian empire into a state of revolution. But we acted in defence only, and we deemed it a sin to precipitate other nations into a terrible and uncertain war, and we checked our sympathies. Besides, we avoided giving the Emperor of Russia a pretence for a war of retaliation against us. Oh, it was foolish—for the despotic hypocrite made a pretence: he called our own struggle the Hungarian-Polish revolution, though the whole number of Poles in our armies did not exceed four thousand.

We doubted not that the European Powers would negotiate a peace for us, or that they would at least prevent the Russian invasion. They said they pitied us, honored our efforts, and condemned the conduct of Austria; but they could not help us, because Europe required a powerful Austrian empire, and they must support it, in spite of its evils, as a balance against Russia in central and eastern Europe. What a mistake! What diplomacy! Is it not as clear as the sun that the Czar, in aiding Austria, would do it in such a manner as to obtain the greatest advantages for himself? Was it not manifest that Austria—who had always, through the help of Hungary, strength enough to oppose Russia—would, when she destroyed Hungary by Russian bayonets, no longer be an independent Power, but merely the *avant-garde* of the Moscovite? Yet Europe permitted the invasion! It is an indelible mark of blindness and shame. It is ever thus in the imbecile Old World. They treated us just as they treat Turkey. They assert always that the peace of Europe and the balance of power require the preservation of the Turkish empire—that Turkey must exist to check the advance of the Cossack power. But, notwithstanding this, England and France destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino—a fleet which never could have injured them, but which might have contended with Russia in the Black Sea.

Always the same worn-out, old, and fatal system of policy!—while Russia, ever alert, seizes province after province from Turkey. She has made herself the sovereign of Moldavia and Wallachia, and is sapping the foundations of the Ottoman empire. Already Turkish officials are more dependent on the lowest Russian agents than upon their own Grand Vizier.

Oh, that Hungary had received but a slight token of moral support from the European Powers—from those Powers whose dreams are troubled with fears of the advance of the Cossack! Had only an English or a French agent come to us during our struggle, what might he not have done? He, too, would have seen and estimated our ability to sustain ourselves—he would have observed the humanity, the love of order, the reverence for liberty, which characterized the Hungarian nation. Had these two Powers permitted a few ships to come to Ossora, laden with arms for the noble patriots who had asked in vain for weapons, the Hungarians would now have stood a more impregnable barrier against Russia than all the arts of a miserable and expensive diplomacy.

There was a time when we, with the neighboring Poles, saved Christianity in Europe. And now I hesitate not to avow before God, that we alone—that my own Hungary—could have saved Europe from Russian domination. As the war in Hungary advanced, its character became changed. In the end, the results it contemplated were higher and far more important—nothing less, in fact, than universal freedom, which was not thought of in the beginning. This was not a choice; it was forced upon us by the policy of the European nations, who, disregarding their own interests, suffered Russia to invade and provoke us. Yes, we were martyrs to the cause of freedom, and this glorious but painful destiny was imposed upon us.

Though my dear native Hungary is trodden down, and the flower of her sons executed, or wandering exiles, and I, her Governor, writing from from my prison, in this distant Asiatic Turkey, I predict—and the eternal God hears my prediction—that there can be no freedom for the continent of Europe, and that the Cossacks from the shores of the Don will water their steeds in the Rhine, unless liberty be restored to Hungary. It is only with Hungarian freedom that the European nations can be free; and the smaller nationalities, especially, can have no future without us.

Nor could the united Russo-Austrian forces have conquered my heroic countrymen, had they not found a traitor to aid them, in the man whom, believing in his honesty, and on account of his skill, I raised from obscurity. Enjoying my confidence, the confidence of the nation and the army, I placed him at the head of our forces, giving him the most glorious part to perform ever granted to man. What an immortality was within his reach, had he been honest! But he betrayed his country. Cursed be his name forever! I will not open the bleeding wounds by the sad remembrance of this event, and will merely mention that the surrender at Vilagos was the crowning act of a long system of treachery secretly practiced—by not using the advantages which victories put in his hands—by not fulfilling my commands, under cunning pretences—by destroying national feeling in the army—by weakening its confidence—and by the destruction, through unnecessary exposures and dangers, of that portion of the army that he could not corrupt in his base designs to make himself military dictator. God, in his inscrutable wisdom, knows why the traitor was permitted to be successful.

In vain fell the bravest of men in this long war—in vain were the exertions of my brave countrymen—in vain did the aged father send, with pious heart, his only son, the prop of his declining years, and the bride her bridegroom—in vain did all private interests yield to the loftiest patriotism—in vain arose the prayers of a suffering people—in vain did the ardent wishes of every friend of freedom accompany our efforts—in vain did the Genius of Liberty hope for success. My country was martyred. Her rulers are hangmen. They have spoken the impious words that the liberty-loving nation *"lies at the feet of the Czar."* Instead of the thankful prayer of faith, of hope, and of love, the air of my native land is filled with the cries of despair, and I, her chosen leader, am an exile. The diplomacy of Europe has changed Turkish hospitality to me and my companions into hopeless bondage. It is a painful existence. My youthful children have begun the morning of their life in the hands of my country's destroyer, and I——but no; desponding does not become me, for I am a man. I am not permitted, or I would say, I envy the dead. Who is unfortunate? I am in Broussa, where the great Hannibal once lived an exile, homeless like myself, but rich in services performed for his country, while I can claim only fidelity to mine. The ingratitude of his nation went with him in his banishment, but the sorrowful love of my countrymen follows me to my place of exile. To thee, my God, I offer thanks that thou didst deem me worthy to suffer for dear Hungary. Let me suffer afflictions, but accept them as propitiatory sacrifices for my native land.

And thou, Hungarian nation, yield not to despair! Be patient; hope, and wait thy time! Though all men forget thee, the God of Justice will not. Thy sufferings are recorded and thy tears are remembered. The blood of thy martyrs—thy noble sons—which moistened thy soil, will have its fruits. The victims which daily fall for thee are, like the ever-green cypress over the graves of the dead, the symbol of thy resurrection. The races whom the destroyer excited against thee by lies and cunning will be undeceived; they will know that thou didst not fight for pre-eminence, but for the common liberty—that thou wast their brother, and bled for them also. The temporary victory of our enemies will but serve to take the film from the eyes of the deceived people. The sentiment of sympathy for our sufferings will inspire among the smaller States and races the wish for a fraternal confederation—for that which I always urged as the only safe policy and guarantee of freedom for them all.

The realization of this idea will hurl the power of the haughty despots to the abyss of the past, and Hungary, free, surrounded by free nations, will be great, glorious, and independent.

At the moment when I hardly hoped for further consolation on earth, behold the God of Mercy freed my wife, and enabled her, through a thousand dangers, to reach me in my place of exile! Like a hunted deer, she could not for five months find in her own native land a place of rest. The executioners of the beardless Nero placed a reward upon her head; but she has escaped the tyrants. She was to me and to my exiled countrymen like the rainbow to Noah; for she brought intelligence of hope in the unshaken souls of the Hungarian people, and in the affectionate sympathy of the neighboring nations who had fought against us. They had aided the wife of the much-slandered Governor of Hungary.

Although the sympathy of the world often depends upon the result of actions, and the successful are applauded, still Hungary, by her noble bearing and trials, has drawn the attention of the world. The sympathy which she has excited in both worlds, and the thundering curse which the lips of millions have pronounced against her destroyers, announce, like the roaring of the wind before the storm, the coming retribution of Heaven.

Among the nations of the world, there are two which demand our gratitude and affection. England, no less powerful than she is free and glorious, supported us by her sympathy, and by the approving voice of her noblest sons and the millions of her people. And that chosen land of freedom beyond the ocean—the all-powerful people of the United States, with their liberal Government—inspired us with hope, and gave us courage by their deep interest in our cause and sufferings, and by their condemnation of our executioners.

The President of the United States, whom the confidence of a free people had elevated to the loftiest station in the world, in his message to Congress, announced that the American Government would have been the first to recognise the independence of Hungary. And the Senators and Representatives in Congress marked the destroyers of my country's liberty with the stigma of ignominy, and expressed, with indignant feelings, their contempt for the conduct of Austria, and their wish to break the diplomatic intercourse with such a Government. They summoned the despots before the judgment-seat of humanity; they proclaimed that the world would condemn them; they declared that Austria and Russia had been unjust, tyrannical, and barbarous, and deserved to be reprobated by mankind, while Hungary was worthy of universal sympathy.

The Hungarians, more fortunate than I, who were able to reach the shores of the New World, were received by the people and Government of the United States in the most generous manner—yes, like brothers. With one hand they hurled anathemas at the despots, and with the other welcomed the humble exiles to partake of that glorious American liberty more to be valued than the glitter of crowns. Our hearts are filled with emotions to see how this great nation extends its sympathy and aid to every Hungarian who is so fortunate as to arrive in America. The sympathetic declaration of such a people, under such circumstances, with similar sentiments, in England, is not a mere sigh which the wind blows away, but is prophetic of the future. What a blessed sight to see whole nations elevated by such sentiments!

Free citizens of America! you inspired my countrymen to noble deeds; your approval imparted confidence; your sympathy consoled in adversity, gave a ray of hope for the future, and enabled us to bear the weight of our heavy burden; your fellow-feeling will sustain us till we realize the hope, the faith, "that Hungary is not lost forever." Accept, in the name of my countrymen, the acknowledgment of our warmest gratitude and our high respect.

I, who know Hungary so well, firmly believe she is not lost; and the intelligent citizens of America have decided, not only with impulsive kindness, but with reason and policy, to favor the unfortunate but not subjugated Hungary. The sound of that encouraging voice is not like a funeral dirge, but as the shrill trumpet that will call the world to judgment.

Who does not see that Austria, even in her victory, has given herself a mortal wound? Her weakness is betrayed. The world no longer believes that Europe needs the preservation of this decaying empire. It is evident that its existence is a curse to mankind; it can never promote the welfare of society. The magic of its imagined power is gone: it was a delusion which can deceive no longer. Among all the races of this empire—not excepting the hereditary States—there is none that does not despise the reigning family of Hapsburg. This Power has no moral ground of support; its vain dreams of a united empire—for which it has committed the most unheard-of crimes—are proved to be mere ravings at which the world laughs. No one loves or respects it; and when it falls, not a tear of regret will follow it to the grave. And fall it surely will. That moment Russia withdraws her support, the decayed edifice will crumble to dust. A shot fired by an English or by an American vessel from the Adriatic would be like the trumpet at the city of Jericho. And this impious, foolish Government thinks to control fate by the hangman's cord. How long will Russia be able to assist? This Czar—who boasts that his mission is to be the scourge of all the nations striving for liberty—will not the Almighty, whose vicegerent he profanely assumes to be, blast the miserable boaster? The very character of his Government is a declaration of war against the rights and interests of humanity, and the existence of other nations. Will the world suffer this long? Not long.

The Hungarian nation, in her war, has not only gained a consciousness of her own strength, but she has forced the conviction into the minds of other nations that she deserves to exist, and to be independent; and she can show justly that her existence and independence are essential to the cause of liberty in Europe. No, no! Hungary is not lost! By her faith, bravery, and by her foresight, *which teaches her to abide her time*, she will be yet among the foremost in the war of universal liberty.

You, noble Americans, we bless in the name of the God of Liberty! To you, who have summoned the murderers of my countrymen before the judgment seat of the world—to you, who are the first judges of this court—I will bring the complaints of my nation, and before you I will plead her cause. When the house of Hapsburg, with the aid of a foreign army, invaded my country, and had destroyed, by their manifesto of the 4th of March, 1849, the foundation upon which the union with Austria rested, there remained for Hungary no alternative than the Declaration of Independence which the National Assembly unanimously voted on the 14th of April, 1849, and which the whole nation solemnly accepted, and sealed with their blood.

I declare to you, in the most solemn manner, that all which has taken place, or that may hereafter take place, proceeding either from individuals or Government, contrary to this declaration, which is in perfect accord with the fundamental law of Hungary, is illegal and unjust.

Before you I assert that the accusation that the Magyar race was unjust to the other races—by means of which a portion of the Servians, Wallachians, Slavonians, and Germans, dwelling in Hungary, was excited against us—is an impious slander, circulated by the house of Hapsburg, which shrinks from no crime to weaken the united forces of our army, to conquer one race after another, and thus bring them all under the yoke of slavery.

It is true, some of the races in Hungary had reason to complain; but these subjects of complaint were the inevitable consequence of the pre-existing state of things and the Austrian interference. But the Croatians had no reason to complain. This race of half a million, in a separate province, had a National Assembly of its own, and enjoyed greater privileges than even the Hungarians. They contributed proportionally but half as much in taxes; they possessed equal rights with Hungary; whilst the Hungarian Protestants, on account of their religion, were not suffered to own lands in Croatia. Their grievances and ours were the same, in the perpetual violation of the constitution by the Imperial Government. But their own peculiar grievances arose from the evils of former times, and from the Austrian system of government, which forcibly placed the Slavonian, Servian, and Wallachian boundary districts on the German military footing.

The moment, however, our people became free and enjoyed their political rights, they became just, and placed all things upon a basis of freedom and perfect equality. But some of these races, blinded by the infernal slanders and suggestions of Austria, took up arms against us. This people, who for centuries had endured slavery, fought against their own freedom! God forgive them! They knew not what they did.

In America people of different languages dwell; but who says that it is unjust for Senators and Representatives to use the English language in their debates, and to make it the official language of the Government?

This was what the Magyar race asked in Hungary. There was this difference only—that in America it was not necessary to establish this by law, for the original settlers had stamped their language in the country; but in Hungary a law was necessary to make the Magyar the official language. The use of the Latin language—a bad relic of the middle ages, which the clergy and aristocracy preserved as something precious, imitating the ancient despots who caused the laws to be written in small letters, and placed on high towers, that the people might not understand their rights—had been retained among us. It was necessary to have a living, spoken, popular language. And what other could we have than the noble Magyar?

How often have I, and other leaders with me, said to my countrymen that they must be strictly just, and seek their future greatness, not in the predominance of one race, but in the perfect equality of all! My counsel was adopted and made the basis of the Government. The same freedom, the same privileges, without regard to language or religion, the free development of each race under the protection of the law, were accorded to all. We not only guarantied the right to use any language in the churches and schools, but we afforded aid for the education and development of each nationality. The principle we announced was, that either the State should protect no religion, no nationality—leaving all to the free action of the people—or that it should protect all alike.

In the general administration, the predominance of our language, and consequently the race that spoke it, was a necessity; but in the administration of county affairs, which in some respects resembled that of the individual States in North America, the use of each language was granted. In the courts, in the trial by jury, in the right of petition, in the republication of all laws and ordinances, the various races had the right to use their own language. In one word, nothing was left undone which could tend to place all on a footing of the most perfect equality. True, we did not—as Austria has done for political purposes solely, to enslave all the people and make the brave Hungarians a subordinate nation—make a territorial division of the lands. We respected rights, and wished to progress, but were too honest to commence a system of spoliation. And who has been benefitted by this policy of the Vienna bureaucracy? Not even those on whom the pretended favors have been conferred.

When those races clamored for national rights, I boldly demanded what was wanting, and what could be granted without injury to the country. No one answered but reckless men, who spoke of territorial division. The Servians desired to have the comitat Bacs and the three counties of the Banat as a separate Servian State. The Wallachians wished to have Transylvania. They (the Servians) did not consider that they owned no separate portion of the land in Hungary, and that in Bacs and the Banat were Wallachians, Germans, and Magyars, who could not be made subordinate to the less numerous Servians. So, also, in Transylvania there were Magyars, Jeklers, and Saxons, who would complain of such a connection with Wallachia.

As there were various races speaking different languages in Hungary, and divided into as many municipalities, who could blame us for laying the foundation of Government in a just equality to all? Croatia alone was a separate territory; and how often have we said to her, that if she would remain in union with us, we would give her the hand of brotherhood, but if she wished to separate we would not hinder her! We could not, however, permit such a division of Hungary as would have destroyed her as a nation. It was Austria who sowed the seeds of division and dissolution.

Citizens of America! to you I declare honestly that my aim in the federation of Hungary with the smaller nations was to secure the nationality and independence of each, and the freedom of all: and had anything been wanting which could have been justly granted to any or all of the races in Hungary, the Maygars had only to know it, and it would have been performed with readiness; for freedom, and not power, was their desire.

Finally, I declare that, by the Declaration of Independence by which I was elected Governor of Hungary, I protest, so long as the people do not by their free will release me from that office, that no one can legally control the affairs of Government but myself. This protestation is not made in a feeling of vanity or desire to be conspicuous, but from respect to the inherent rights of my countrymen. I strove not for power. The brilliancy of a crown would not seduce me. The final aim of my life, after having liberated my dear Hungary, was to end my days as a private citizen and an humble farmer.

My country, in the hour of danger, called upon me to assist in the struggle for freedom. I responded to its call. Others, doubtless, were more able, who could have won more fame, but I will yield to none in the purity of my motives. Perhaps it was confidence in my ardent patriotism and honesty of purpose which induced the people to give me the power. They believed freedom would be safe in my hands. I felt my weakness, and told them I could not promise liberty unless they were united as one man, and would lay aside all personal, all sectional interests. I foretold that, if the nation was divided, it would fall. As long as they followed my injunctions, and were united, they were unconquerable—they performed miracles of valor. The fall of Hungary commenced the day they began to divide. Not knowing the secret causes of this division, and not suspecting treachery, and wishing to inspire confidence, to give skill and all the elements of success to our army, and caring nothing for my own fame, doing all for the good of my country, I gave command of the forces to another. I was assured by the most solemn engagement, by the man to whom I gave the power, that he would use it for the welfare and independence of the nation, and that he would be responsible to me and the people for the fulfilment of these conditions. He betrayed his country, and gave the army to the enemy. Had we succeeded after this terrible blow, he should have met his reward. And even now he is not freed from his accountability to the nation, no more than I, in the moral right and sense, cease to be the Governor of Hungary. A short time may reverse again the fate of all. The aurora of liberty breaks upon my vision, even at Broussa.

I have, therefore, intrusted to Ladislaus Ujhazi, Obergespum, of the Saros comitat, and civil Governor of Comorn, the mission to be my representative, and through me the representative of the Hungarian nation, to the people and Government of the United States, hoping and believing that so generous a people will not judge the merits of the cause by a temporary defeat, but will recognise Governor Ujhazi and his companions with the accustomed kindness.

May God bless your country forever! May it have the glorious destiny to share with other nations the blessings of that liberty which constitutes its own happiness and fame! May your great example, noble America, be to other nations the source of social virtue; your power be the terror of all tyrants—the protector of the distressed; and your free country ever continue to be the asylum for the oppressed of all nations.

Written at my place of banishment, Broussa, Asia Minor, 27th March, 1850.

LOUIS KOSSUTH,
Governor of Hungary.

KOSSUTH.

The United States mail steamship Atlantic arrived at this port at an early hour yesterday morning, bringing us three days' later news from the old world.

We have received some very interesting items of political intelligence by these arrivals. It appears that Louis Kossuth, the great Hungarian hero, is to stop at both France and England before coming to the United States. His release from hospitable imprisonment in Turkey seems to have revived the hopes of the Democracy of Europe, who, it appears, are seeking every opportunity of honoring that hero. The town of Spezzia, at which the United States steamer Mississippi touched, was illuminated as a mark of joy at his release and of his presence in the harbor. Similar demonstrations in his favor, no doubt, await him in other places. It is to be regretted, however, that the Mississippi did not steer directly for the United States, where Kossuth's great services in the cause of liberty are better appreciated than they could be in any European country, and where he is certain of a welcome, such as republicans only know how to extend to one who has sacrificed all but life in the great cause in which he enlisted. It is too late to correct the error. Our regret that he did not embark directly for this country is increased by the delay that will be thus occasioned, for we fear now that he will not arrive here for two weeks to come.

Our readers will be amused by reading the accounts of the proceedings of the Austrian Government towards Kossuth, and thirty-nine of his brave companions in arms, at the very time they were about placing themselves under the protection of the stars and stripes of proud America. It seems that the authorities of that despotism, despairing, as they had good reason to despair, of ever getting these brave Magyars within their power, went so far, in their agonizing disappointment, as to hang them in effigy from a gallows erected for the purpose. The proceedings, we learn, were intended to be of the most solemn and impressive character. Battalions and regiments of soldiers were ordered out to witness this Punch and Judy execution. The verdict of guilty, *in contumace*, and the sentence of death, were read to the assembled multitude, who were no doubt invited to witness the farce; the hangman was directed to do his duty, and up went, dangling in the air, one after another, a number of black boards, with the names of the condemned chalked upon them. In the mean time, Kossuth and his thirty-nine compatriots, who were thus, by their wooden representatives, consigned to the kind attention and courtesy of old Charon for a voyage across the Styx, were safe and sound on board the steamship Mississippi, with "freedom's banner streaming o'er them," and, in all probability, defying the Austrian despot. How ridiculous all this appears to Americans! But despotism needs humbug like this to perpetuate its existence, and to enable it to eke out the few short years that remain to it. It is no presumption, we think, to say that Kossuth was not much disturbed when he heard of his being hanged in this very Pickwickian style by his cowardly, contemptible, and dastardly enemies. Kossuth still lives; and if we are not much mistaken, the stripling at the head of the house of Hapsburg will yet feel the force of his strong right arm when the proper time arrives.

MECHANISM.—No. XX.

BY JOSIAH HOLBROOK.

About one-third of human beings are of school age—from four to eighteen years. That class in the whole world numbers of course three hundred millions; in the United States eight millions; in the State of New York one million; in the city of New York one hundred and fifty thousand; in the city of Washington thirteen thousand.

The muscle, mind, and soul, deposited in this portion of the human family constitute a greater magazine of power for advancing and protecting the nations of the earth than all the navy ships upon the ocean, and all the forces and munitions of war upon the land. Examine it. In one day, in the city of New York alone, this kind of power, if permitted to act in the direction of its inherent, patriotic impulses, might produce at least one hundred thousand specimens as offerings to patriotism and science. These tokens and fruits of generous impulses might be so distributed as to plant the seed of similar fruit in each of the hundred thousand schools in the United States—rousing to action similar impulses in some five or six millions of young spirits, always charged and ready for onset in any noble enterprise. As New York numbers a large army of *young* veterans in this kind of warfare, a month would be a large time for them to rouse to patriotic action—true national defence—the entire American forces, with whom is deposited the magazine of power embodied in young muscle, mind, and soul.

In such a national warfare—rather a warfare of nations—the Empire City would not be permitted to share alone the glory. The young spirits in our National City have got a taste for it. They, at the heart of the nation, indeed, constituting the life blood of the heart, would claim both the right and the power of throwing out intellectual, moral, patriotic pulsations, at least equal to those they received. Let these two great emporiums of power unite their forces, and let fly their missiles under skilful aim, and a simultaneous, nay, almost instantaneous, uprising of all the young forces of young America would be witnessed for giving battle to the Old World. A knowledge of the power of such forces, and of their sure aim at the hearts of their antagonists, would show resistance to be useless, indeed, impossible; an immediate surrender would be announced, a great victory won, and, though every heart was pierced, not a drop of blood shed.

Should any one doubt the certainty or the glory of such a victory, let him count the forces for obtaining it, and calculate the amount and the power of muscle, mind, and soul, bounteously and wisely committed to them for just such deeds of moral heroism, for just such bloodless victory, not so much with a simultaneous *grounding of arms* as with an instantaneous and general rush to arms for an onset in the same great battle, to be sharers in the glory of victory and of triumph. These young American forces number six millions. No one needs but a chance to bring the muscle, mind, and soul, committed to him for the work, to engage at once in preparing instruments for this great moral warfare. For procuring these instruments they resort to the great store-house of their Creator. They provide themselves with metals, in all their native beauty, fresh from the mines, not permitting them to be deformed into the shape of swords, muskets, and cannon balls. Besides metals fresh from the mines, they equip themselves with crystals and gems sparkling in the mountains. By the magic power of the pencil and the skill of their young hands, they delineate the beauty of the forest, the life and activity in the air, dwellers and sporters in the ocean.

Such weapons, thus prepared, could soon number more than the inhabitants of our globe. In useful minerals, sparkling crystals, rich gems, drawings of quadrupeds, fishes, birds, insects, reptiles, trees, flowers, fruits, farmers' implements, mechanics' tools, and housekeepers' utensils; in exhibitions of mechanism, with its first elements, numberless combinations, and illimitable uses; with untold exhibitions of nature and art, capable of being drawn from this exhaustless magazine of power and skill, constituted of young muscle, mind, and soul, floated in national ships, and scattered by armies for national defence, might soon provide such a defence for nations as would at once change ships for cannons and armies for muskets into distributors of the products of science, wealth, and morals, for the benefit of all, and the injury of none.

EXPERIMENTS.—The products of nature and art prepared by the young hands of New York have been distributed through the States and over the world. In return have been received similar specimens from most or all the States of our Union; also, works of nature and of rude or skilful workmanship, from Mexico, Oregon, the Fee-Jee Islands, China, India, and several islands of the Mediterranean, Greece, Italy, and various other nations and places upon the earth.

FATAL GENEROSITY.

The negro preachers at the South are often marked by great shrewdness and mother wit, and will not only point the truth, but barb it so that, if once in, it will stick fast. One of these in Old Virginia was once descanting with much earnestness on different ways in which men lose their souls. Under one head of remark, he said that men often lose their souls through excessive generosity.

"What!" he exclaimed, "you tell me you never heard of that before. You say, ministers often tell us we lose our souls for our stinginess, and for being covetous; but who ever heard of a man that hurt himself by going too far t'other way? I tell you how they do it. They sit down under the sermon, and when the preacher touch upon this sin or that sin, they no take it to themselves; but give this part of the sermon to one brother, and that part to another brother; and so they give away the whole sermon, and it do them no good. And that's the way they lose their souls by being too generous."

There is great truth in this remark. The want of a self-applying conscience causes much of the best of preaching to fall like rain upon a rock, from which it soon runs off; or, if a little is caught in a hollow, it only stagnates, and then dries away, leaving no blessings behind. A sermon, however true and forcible, thus disposed of, does no good to those among whom it is so silently distributed, while it leaves him who squanders its treasures to perish at last in the poverty and emptiness of his soul.

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P. H. WATSON,
July 18 E. S. RENWICK.

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For Boots, Shoes, Harness, Carriage Tops, &c.

THIS BLACKING is not designed to produce a polish, but to render leather soft, pliable, water proof, and much more durable.

It may be had at the manufacturer's wholesale price:
New York—Grannis & Stewart, 96 Maiden Lane.
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Philadelphia—T. W. Dyott & Son, 132 N. 2d street
Pittsburg, Pa.—McCurdy & Loomis.
Boston, Mass.—Alexander Strong, 32 Central street.
Bangor, Me.—George W. Emerson, 4 Smith's Block.
Cleveland, O.—Seaman & Smith.
Cincinnati, O.—Robbins & Pomroy, 27 Pearl street.
Montreal, C. W.—Brown & Childs.
Toronto, C. W.—Brown & Childs.
And in the cities and principal towns generally throughout the Northern and Western States of the Union.
Aug 21

PHILADELPHIA, WILMINGTON, AND BALTIMORE RAILROAD.

SUMMER ARRANGEMENT.

Three Fast Lines to Philadelphia, Daily, (except Sundays)

FARE IN EACH, THREE DOLLARS.

ON and after Monday 2d December, the mail and passenger trains to Philadelphia will be run as follows, viz:

Morning Mail Train, stopping at way stations, will leave the Company's *New Depot*, President street, at 9 o'clock, daily, (except Sundays,) through in five and a half hours. To this train a *second class car* will be attached, the fare in which will be two dollars, and the ticket for which must be procured in the office before starting, as none can be sold in the car.

Night Mail Train, stopping at all the regular stations on the road, will leave the President street Depot every night at 8 o'clock—being the only line on Sundays.

Returning the trains will leave Philadelphia, respectively, at half past 8 A. M. and 10 P. M.

NOTICE.—Tickets for the above lines must be procured at the office. Baggage by the above lines is at its owner's risk, and passengers are expressly prohibited taking anything as baggage but wearing apparel. Fifty pounds allowed each passenger.

J. G. HARDIE,
Baltimore, April 19. Acting Agent.

BUCHANAN'S JOURNAL OF MAN.

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VOL. III commences July, 1851. This unique original journal treats of all subjects relating to man—presents new and well demonstrated systems of *Phrenology, Physiology*, and *Physiognomy*—and surveys from a new point of view the great wonders of the age. The knowledge of man and the elevation of the race are its aims. Specimen numbers sent gratuitously. Address the editor, *Dr. JOSEPH R. BUCHANAN*, Cincinnati.

Vol. I, containing nine plates (one exhibiting the new system of Phrenology) and 624 pages, will be sent by mail for two dollars. June 12—1yi

HENRY H. PAXTON,

ATTORNEY and Counsellor at Law, and Solicitor in Chancery, Cadiz, Harrison county, Ohio. Jan 9

THOMAS EMERY,

MANUFACTURER of Lard Oil, Star and Adamantine Candles, 33 Water street, between Main and Walnut streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

N. B. Cash paid for Nos. 1 and 2 lard, grease, mutton and beef tallow. May 15—tf

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DEALERS in Cheap Publications, &c., Smithfield street, between Second and Third, Pittsburgh, Pa. This is the most extensive Cheap Publication House in the West, where may always be found the principal Magazines, and new and old novels, Annuals, Gift Books, &c.

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The *National Era* and other periodicals are kept for sale.
Feb. 13—1yg

NEW PAMPHLET BY REV. JOHN G. FEE.

THE *Sinfulness of Slaveholding shown by appeals to Reason and Scripture.* By John G. Fee, Minister of the Gospel in Kentucky. 36 pp. 12mo. Printed by John A. Gray, and for sale by William Harned, at No 48 Beekman street, New York. Three dollars per hundred, and six cents single copy. This pamphlet has just issued from the press, and it is intended, we understand, to give it a wide circulation in Kentucky and elsewhere. We have been assured by a gentleman who has resided in Kentucky that Mr. Fee's writings are held in high estimation, and are eagerly sought after, especially by the great body of the people. When it is considered that it has been claimed by many influential persons in that State, that slavery is not sinful in itself, a well-written argument drawn from reason and Scripture to the contrary cannot be considered unnecessary. This pamphlet is well printed, and is well adapted to general circulation both in slave and free States, for there are some even here, ministers and laymen, who deny the sinfulness of slavery in all cases. We trust the friends of Freedom will send their orders, and aid in the wide circulation of this seasonable and able essay. If sent through the mail, the new law requires the postage to be prepaid. It will be two cents a copy for 500 miles, and four cents for all distances beyond that. Aug 7—3m

LARD OIL.

IMPROVED LARD OIL.—Lard Oil of the finest quality equal to sperm for combustion, also for machinery and woollens, being manufactured without acids, can always be purchased and shipped in strong barrels, prepared expressly to prevent leakage. Orders received and executed for the Lake, Atlantic, and Southern cities, also for the West Indies and Canadas. Apply to

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COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING-COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA, AND CONSUMPTION.

IN offering to the community this justly celebrated remedy for diseases of the throat and lungs, it is not our wish to trifle with the lives and health of the afflicted, but frankly to lay before them the opinions of distinguished men and some of the evidences of its success, from which they can judge for themselves. We sincerely pledge ourselves to make no wild assertions or false statements of its efficacy, nor will we hold out any hope to suffering humanity which the facts will not warrant.

Many *proofs* are here given, and we solicit an inquiry from the public into all we publish, feeling assured they will find them perfectly reliable, and the medicine worthy their best confidence and patronage.

From the distinguished Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica, Bowdoin College.

BRUNSWICK, ME., *February* 5, 1847.

DEAR SIR: I delayed answering the receipt of your preparation until I had an opportunity of witnessing its effects in my own family or in the families of my friends.

This I have now done with a high degree of satisfaction, in cases both of adults and children.

I have found it, as its ingredients show, a powerful remedy for colds, and coughs, and pulmonary diseases.

PARKER CLEAVELAND, M. D.

From an Overseer in the Hamilton Mills in this city.

LOWELL, *August* 10, 1849.

I have been cured of the worst cough I ever had in my life, by your *Cherry Pectoral*, and never fail, when I have opportunity, of recommending it to others.

Yours, respectfully, S. D. EMERSON.
Dr. J. C. AYER.

☞ The following was one of the worst cases, which the physicians and friends thought to be incurable Consumption:

CHESTER, PA., *August* 22, 1846.

SIR: I was taken with a terrible cough, brought on by a cold, in the beginning of last February, and was confined to my bed more than two months. Coughing incessantly night and day, I became ghastly and pale, my eyes were sunken and glassy, and my breath very short. Indeed, I was rapidly failing, and in such distress for breath that but little hope of my recovery could be entertained. While in this situation, a friend of mine (the Rev. John Keller, of the Methodist church) brought me a bottle of your *Cherry Pectoral*, which I tried more to gratify him than from any expectation of obtaining relief. Its good effect induced me to continue its use, and I soon found my health much improved. Now, in three months, I am well and strong, and can attribute my cure only to your great medicine.

With the deepest gratitude, yours, &c.
Dr. J. C. AYER. JAMES GODFREY.

☞ Prepared and sold by James C. Ayer, practical chemist, Lowell, Mass., and sold by the druggists generally throughout the United States and Canada. Aug. 7—3m